

AN
Ecclesiastical History,
ANTIENT AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

VOL. II.



Ecclesiastical History

ANTIEN^T AND MOD^ERN,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY:

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of CHURCH POWER

ARE CONSIDERED

In their Connexion with the State of LEARNING and PHILOSOPHY;
and the POLITICAL HISTORY of EUROPE during that Period.

By the late learned

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHÉIM, D.D.

And Chancellor of the University of GOTTINGEN.

Translated, from the ORIGINAL LATIN,

And accompanied with NOTES and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,

By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

To the whole is added AN ACCURATE INDEX

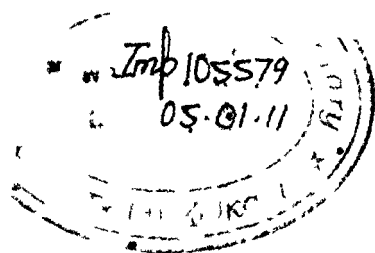
A NEW EDITION

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

MDCXC.



T H E F I F T H C E N . T U R Y .

P A R T I .

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P . I .

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened to
the church.*

I. **I**N order to arrive at a true knowledge of the causes, to which we are to attribute the outward state of the church, and the events which happened to it during this century, we must keep in view the civil history of this period of time. It is, therefore, proper to observe, that, in the beginning of this century, the Roman empire was divided into two distinct sovereignties, of which the one comprehended the eastern provinces, the other, those of the west. **ARCADIUS**, the emperor of the east, reigned at *Constantinople*; and **HONORIUS**, who governed the western provinces, chose *Ravenna* for the place of his residence. This latter prince, remarkable only for the sweetness of his temper, and the goodness of his heart, neglected the great affairs of the empire, and, inattentive to the weighty duties of his station, held the reins of government with an unsteady hand. The Goths took advantage of this criminal indolence; made incursions into *Italy*; laid waste its fairest provinces;

C E N T .
V.
P A R T I .

The state of
the Roman
empire.

C E N T. V.
 P A R T I.

vinces; and sometimes carried their desolations as far as *Rome*, which they ravaged and plundered in the most dreadful manner. These calamities, which fell upon the western part of the empire from the Gothic depredations, were followed by others still more dreadful under the succeeding emperors. A fierce and warlike people, issuing out of *Germany*, overspread *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, the noblest of all the European provinces, and erected new kingdoms in these fertile countries; and ODOACER, at last, at the head of the Heruli, having conquered AUGUSTULUS, in the year 476, gave the mortal blow to the western empire, and reduced all *Italy* under his dominion. About sixteen years after this, THEODORIC, king of the Ostrogoths, made war upon these Barbarian invaders, at the request of ZENO, emperor of the east, conquered ODOACER in several battles, and obtained, as the fruits of his victories, a kingdom for the Ostrogoths in *Italy*, which subsisted under various turns of fortune from the year 493 to 552 [a].

These new monarchs of the west pretended to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperors who resided at *Constantinople*, and gave some faint external marks of a disposition to reign in subordination to them; but, in reality, they ruled with an absolute independence, in their respective governments, and, as appears particularly by the dominion exercised by THEODORIC in *Italy*, left nothing remaining to the eastern emperors but a mere shadow of power and authority [b].

II. These

[a] See, for a fuller illustration of this branch of history, the learned work of DE BOS, intitled, *Histoire Critique de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 258; as also MASCOW'S *History of the Germans*.

[b] CAR. DU FRESNE, *Dissert. xxiii. ad Hist. Ludovici S.* p. 280. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 578. 832.

II. These constant wars, and the inexpressible calamities with which they were attended, were undoubtedly detrimental to the cause and progress of Christianity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the Christian emperors, especially those who ruled in the east, were active and assiduous in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions. THEODOSIUS the younger distinguished himself in this pious and noble work, and many remarkable monuments of his zeal in this matter are still preserved [c]; such as the laws which enjoined either the destruction of the heathen temples, or the dedication of them to CHRIST and his saints; the edicts by which he abrogated the sacrilegious rites and ceremonies of Paganism, and removed from all offices and employments in the state such as persevered in their attachment to the absurdities of Polytheism.

C E N T.
P A G E I.
The farther
decline of
idolatry.

This spirit of reformation appeared with less vigour in the western empire. There the feasts of Saturn and Pan, the combats of the gladiators, and other rites that were instituted in honour of the Pagan deities, were celebrated with the utmost freedom and impunity; and persons of the highest rank and authority professed publicly the religion of their idolatrous ancestors [d]. This liberty was, however, from time to time,

GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 207. Jo. COCHLAEI *Vita Theodorici Ostrogothorum regis*, printed in 4to in the year 1699, with the observations and remarks of PERRINSKIO &c.

[c] See the *Theodosian Code*, tom. vi. p. 327.

[d] See the *Saturnalia* of MACROBIUS, lib. i. p. 100. edit. Gionov. SCIPIO MAFFEI *delli Anacreti*, lib. i. p. 56, 57. PIERRE LE BRUN, *Hist. Critique des pratiques superstitieuses*, tom. i. p. 227. And above all MONIFAUCON, *Diss. de moribus tempore Theodosii M. et Arcadii*, which is to be found in Latin, in the eleventh volume of the works of St. CHRYSOSTOM, and in French, in the twentieth volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, p. 197.

The External History of the Church.

CENT. V.
PART I. reduced within narrower limits; and all those public sports and festivals, that were more peculiarly incompatible with the genius and sanctity of the Christian religion, were every where abolished [e].

Nations
converted
to Christia-
nity.

.III. The limits of the church continued to extend themselves, and gained ground daily upon the idolatrous nations both in the eastern and western empires. In the east, the inhabitants of mount *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* being dreadfully infested with wild beasts, implored the assistance and counsels of the famous SIMEON the Stylite, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. SIMEON gave them for answer, that the only effectual method of removing this calamity was to abandon the superstitious worship of their ancestors, and substitute the Christian religion in its place. The docility of this people, joined to the extremities to which they were reduced, engaged them to follow the counsels of this holy man. They embraced Christianity, and, in consequence of their conversion, they had the pleasure of seeing their savage enemies abandon their habitations; if we may believe the writers who affirm the truth of this prodigy. The same SIMEON, by his influence and authority, introduced the Christian worship into a certain district of the Arabians; some allege, that this also was effected by a miracle, which to me appears somewhat more than doubtful [f]. To these instances of the progress of the gospel, we may add the conversion of a considerable number of Jews in the isle of *Cyprus*, who, finding themselves grossly deluded by the impious pretensions of an impostor,

[e] ANASTASIUS prohibited, towards the conclusion of this century, the combats with the wild beasts, and other shews. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 246.

[f] ASSEMANNI *Bibl. Orient. Vat.* tom. i. p. 246.

called

called MOSES CRETENSIS [g], who gave himself out for the MESSIAH, opened their eyes upon the truth, and embraced the Christian religion of their own accord [b].

CENT.
V.
PART I.

IV. The German nations, who rent in pieces the Roman empire in the west, were not all converted to Christianity at the same time. Some of them had embraced the truth before the time of their incursion; and such, among others, was the case of the Goths. Others, after having erected their little kingdoms in the empire, embraced the gospel, that they might thus live with more security amidst a people, who, in general, professed the Christian religion. It is, however, uncertain (and likely to continue so) at what time, and by whose ministry, the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans were converted to Christianity. With respect to the Burgundians, who inhabited the banks of the *Rhine*, and who passed from thence into *Gaul*, we are informed, by SOCRATES [i], that they embraced the gospel of their own accord, from a notion that CHRIST, or the God of the Romans, who had been represented to them as a most powerful being, would defend them against

The conversion of the German nations to Christianity.

[g] We shall give the relation of SOCRATES, concerning this impostor, in the words of the learned and estimable author of the *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*. "In the time of THEODOSIUS the younger an impostor arose, called MOSES CRETENSIS. He pretended to be a second MOSES, sent to deliver the Jews who dwelt in *Crete*, and promised to divide the sea, and give them a safe passage through it. They assembled together, with their wives and children, and followed him to a promontory. He there commanded them to cast themselves into the sea. Many of them obeyed and perished in the waters, and many were taken up and saved by fishermen. Upon this, the deluded Jews would have torn the impostor to pieces; but he escaped them, and was seen no more." See JORTIN'S *Remarks*, &c. first edit. vol. iii. p. 331.

[b] SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccles* lib. vii. cap. xlviii. p. 383.

[i] Idem, *Hist. Eccles*. lib. vii. cap. xxx. p. 371.

The External History of the Church.

CENT.
V.
PART I.

the rapines and incursions of the Huns. They afterwards sided with the Arian party, to which also the Vandals, Sueves, and Goths were zealously attached. All these fierce and warlike nations judged a religion excellent, in proportion to the success which crowned the aims of those that professed it, and esteemed, consequently, that doctrine the best, whose professors had gained the greatest number of victories. When, therefore they saw the Romans possessed of an empire much more extensive than that of any other people, they concluded that CHRIST, their God, was of all others the most worthy of religious homage.

Of the
Franks.

V. It was the same principle and the same views that engaged CLOVIS [k], king of the *Salu*, a nation of the Franks, to embrace Christianity. This prince, whose signal valour was accompanied with barbarity, arrogance, and injustice, founded the kingdom of the Franks in *Gaul*, after having made himself master of a great part of that country, and meditated with a singular eagerness and avidity the conquest of the whole. His conversion to the Christian religion, is dated from the battle he fought with the Alemans in the year 496, at a village called *Tolbiacum* [l]; in which, when the Franks began to give ground, and their affairs seemed desperate, he implored the assistance of CHRIST (whom his queen CLOTHILDIS, daughter of the king of the Burgundians, had often represented to him, in vain, as the *son* of the *true God*), and solemnly engaged himself, by a vow, to worship him as his God, if he rendered him victorious over his enemies. Victory decided in

[k] Besides the name of CLOVIS, this prince was also called CLODOVALUS, HLUDOVICUS, LUDOVICUS, and LUDICIN.

[l] *Tolbiacum* is thought to be the present *Zulpick*, which is about twelve miles from *Cologn*.

favour

favour of the Franks; and CLOVIS, faithful to his engagement, received baptism at Rheims [m], towards the conclusion of that same year, after having been instructed by REMIGIUS, bishop of that city, in the doctrines of the gospel [n]. The example of the king had such a powerful effect upon the minds of his subjects, that three thousand of them immediately followed it, and were baptized with him. Many are of opinion, that the desire of extending his dominions was that which contributed principally to render CLOVIS faithful to his engagement; though some influence may also be allowed to the zeal and exhortations of his queen CLOTHILDIS. Be that as it will, nothing is more certain than that his profession of Christianity was, in effect, of great use to him, both in confirming and enlarging his empire.

The miracles, which are said to have been wrought at the baptism of CLOVIS, are utterly unworthy of the smallest degree of credit. Among others the principal prodigy, that of the phial full of oil said to be brought from heaven by a milk white dove, during the ceremony of baptism, is a fiction, or rather, perhaps, an imposture; a pretended miracle contrived by artifice and fraud [o]. Pious frauds of this nature were very commonly practised in Gaul and in Spain at

[m] See GREGORY of Tours, *História Francorum*, lib. ii. cap. xxx, xxxi. HENRY COURT BUNAU's *História Imperii Romano-Germanici*, tom. i. p. 588. Dr BOS's *Histoire Critique de la Monarchie Française*, tom. ii. p. 310.

[n] The Epitomizer of the history of the Franks tells us, that REMIGIUS having preached to CLOVIS, and those who had been baptized with him, a sermon on the passion of our Saviour; the king, in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, "If I had been there with my Franks, that should not have happened."

[o] The truth of this miracle has been denied by the learned JOHN JAMES CHIFLET, in his book *De ampulla Rheimensi*, printed in folio, at Antwerp, in the year 1651; and it

The External History of the Church.

CENT. at this time, in order to captivate, with more
V. facility, the minds of a rude and barbarous people,
PART I. who were scarcely susceptible of a rational conviction.

The conversion of CLOVIS is looked upon by the learned as the origin of the titles of *Most Christian king*, and *Eldest son of the church*, which have been so long attributed to the kings of France [p]. For if we except this prince, all the kings of those barbarous nations, who seized upon the Roman provinces, were either yet involved in the darkness of paganism, or infected with the Arian heresy.

Of the Irish. VI. CELESTINE, the Roman pontiff, sent PALADIUS into *Ireland*, to propagate the Christian religion among the rude inhabitants of that island.

has been affirmed by VERTOT, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. iv. p. 350. After a mature consideration of what has been alleged on both sides of the question, I can scarcely venture to deny the fact: I am therefore of opinion, that, in order to confirm and fix the wavering faith of this Barbarian prince, REMIGIUS had prepared his measures before-hand, and trained a pigeon by vast application and dexterity in such a manner, that, during the baptism of CLOVIS, it descended from the roof of the church with a phial of oil. Among the records of this century, we find accounts of many such miracles. ¶ There is one circumstance, which obliges me to differ from Dr. MOHEIM upon this point, and to look upon the story of the famous phial, rather as a *mere fiction*, than as a *pious fraud* or pretended miracle brought about by artifice; and that circumstance is, that GREGORY of *Tours*, from whom we have a full account of the conversion and baptism of CLOVIS, and who, from his proximity to this time, may almost be called a contemporary writer, has not made the least mention of this famous miracle. This omission, in a writer whom the Roman-catholics themselves consider as an over-credulous historian, amounts to a proof, that, in his time, this fable was not yet invented.

[p] See GAB. DANIEL: DE CAMPS, *Dissert. de titulo Regis Christianissimi*, *Journal des Sçavans*, for the year 1720, p. 243. 336. 404. 448. *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. xx. p. 466.

This

This first mission [q] was not attended with much fruits; nor did the success of PALLADIUS bear any proportion to his laborious and pious endeavours. After his death, the same pontiff employed, in this mission, SUCCATHUS, a native of Scotland, whose name he changed into that of PATRICK, and who arrived among the Irish in the year 432. The success of his ministry, and the number and importance of his pious exploits, stand upon record as undoubted proofs not only of his resolution and patience, but also of his dexterity and address. Having attacked, with much more success than his predecessor, the errors and superstitions of that uncivilized people, and brought great numbers of them over to the Christian religion, he founded, in the year 472, the archbishopric of *Armagh* [r], which has ever since remained the metropolitan see of the Irish nation. Hence this famous missionary, though not the first who brought among that people the light of the Gospel, has yet been justly intitled, *The apostle of the Irish*, and the father of the Hibernian

CENT.
V.
PART I.

[q] From the fragments of the lives of some Irish bishops, who are said to have converted many of their countrymen in the fourth century, archbishop USHER concludes, that PALLADIUS was not the first bishop of Ireland. (See his *Antiquities of the British Church*.) But it has been evidently proved, among others by BOLLANDUS, that these fragments are of no earlier date than the twelfth century, and are, besides, the most of them fabulous. Dr. MOSHELM's opinion is further confirmed by the authority of PROSPER, which is decisive in this matter.

[r] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 517. tom. iii. Februar. p. 131. 179. JAC. WARALI *Hibernia Sacra*, printed in folio at Dublin, 1717. This latter published at London, in 1656, in 8vo, *the Works of St. PATRICK*. The synods, that were held by this eminent missionary, are to be found in WILKINS's *Concilia Magnæ Brit. et Hiberniæ*, tom. i. p. 2. With respect to the famous cave, which is called the Purgatory of St. PATRICK, the reader may consult LE BRUN, *Histoire Critique des pratiques superstitieuses*, tom. iv. p. 34.

church

CENT. church; and is still generally acknowledged and
 V. revered in that honourable character.

PART I.

The causes
 of these con-
 versions.

VII. The causes and circumstances by which these different nations were engaged to abandon the superstition of their ancestors, and to embrace the religion of Jesus, may be easily deduced from the facts we have related in the history of their conversion. It would, indeed, be an instance of the blindest and most perverse partiality, not to acknowledge, that the labours and zeal of great and eminent men contributed to this happy purpose, and were the means by which the darkness of many was turned into light. But, on the other hand, they must be very inattentive and superficial observers of things, who do not perceive that the fear of punishment, the prospect of honours and advantages, and the desire of obtaining succour against their enemies from the countenance of the Christians, or the miraculous influences of their religion, were the prevailing motives that induced the greatest part to renounce the service of their impotent gods.

How far these conversions were due to real miracles attending the ministry of these early preachers, is a matter extremely difficult to be determined. For though I am persuaded that those pious men, who, in the midst of many dangers, and in the face of obstacles seemingly invincible, endeavoured to spread the light of Christianity through the barbarous nations, were sometimes accompanied with the more peculiar presence and succours of the Most High [s]; yet I am equally convinced, that the greatest part of

[s] There is a remarkable passage, relating to the miracles of this century, in ÆNEAS GAZPUS's *Dialogue concerning the Immortality of the Soul*, &c. intitled, *Theophrastus*, p. 78, 80, 81. edit. Baithii. See the controversy concerning the time when miracles ceased in the church, that was carried on some years ago, on occasion of Dr. MIDDLETON's *Free Inquiry*, &c.

the prodigies, recorded in the histories of this age, are liable to the strongest suspicions of falsehood or imposture. The simplicity and ignorance of the generality in those times furnished the most favourable occasion for the exercise of fraud; and the impudence of impostors, in contriving false miracles, was artfully proportioned to the credulity of the vulgar [a]; while the sagacious and the wise, who perceived these cheats, were obliged to silence by the dangers that threatened their lives and fortunes, if they detected the artifice [u]. Thus does it generally happen in human life, that, when the discovery and profession of the truth is attended with danger, the prudent are silent, the multitude believe, and impostors triumph.

C E N T.
V.
P A R T I.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events which happened to the church during this century.

I. IT has been already observed, that the Goths, the Heruli, the Franks, the Huns, and the Vandals, with other fierce and warlike nations, for the most part strangers to Christianity, had invaded the Roman empire, and rent it asunder in the most deplorable manner. Amidst these calamities, the Christians were grievous, nay, we may venture to say, the principal sufferers. It is true, these savage nations were much more intent upon the acquisition of wealth and dominion,

The Christians suffer in the Roman empire.

[a] This is ingenuously confessed by the Benedictine monks, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 33. and happily expressed by Livi, *Illyi*. lib. xxiv. cap. x. § 6. *Prodigia multa nuntiata sunt, quæ quo magis credebant simplices et religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur.*

[u] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dial.* i. p. 438. *Ep.* i. p. 457. *Dial.* iii. cap. ii. p. 487.

than

C E N T. V. PART I. than upon the propagation or support of the Pagan superstitions; nor did their cruelty and opposition to the Christians arise from any religious principle, or from an enthusiastic desire to ruin the cause of Christianity; it was merely by the instigation of the Pagans, who remained yet in the empire, that they were excited to treat with such severity and violence the followers of CHRIST. The painful consideration of their abrogated rites, and the hopes of recovering their former liberty and privileges by the means of their new masters, induced the worshipers of the gods to seize with avidity every opportunity of inspiring them with the most bitter aversion to the Christians. Their endeavours, however, were without the desired effect, and their expectations were entirely disappointed. The greatest part of these barbarians embraced Christianity; though it be also true, that, in the beginning of their usurpations, the professors of that religion suffered heavily under the rigour of their government.

The attempts of the Pagans to destroy their credit.

II. To destroy the credit of the gospel, and to excite the hatred of the multitude against the Christians, the Pagans took occasion, from the calamities and tumults which distracted the empire, to renew the obsolete complaint of their ancestors against Christianity, as the source of these complicated woes. They alleged, that, before the coming of CHRIST, the world was blessed with peace and prosperity; but that, since the progress of his religion every where, the gods, filled with indignation to see their worship neglected and their altars abandoned, had visited the earth with those plagues and desolations, which increased every day. This feeble objection was entirely removed by AUGUSTIN, in his book *Concerning the city of God*; a work extremely rich and ample in point of matter, and filled with the most profound and diversified erudition. It also drew
a com-

a complete confutation from the learned pen of OROSIUS, who, in a history written expressly for that purpose, shewed, with the utmost evidence, that not only the same calamities now complained of, but also plagues of a much more dreadful kind, had afflicted mankind before the Christian religion appeared in the world.

The calamities of the times produced still more pernicious effects upon the religious sentiments of the Gauls. They introduced among that people the most desperate notions, and led many of them to reject the belief of a superintending providence, and to exclude the deity from the government of the universe. Against these frenetic infidels, SALVIAN wrote his book *Concerning the divine government*.

III. Hitherto we have given only a general view of the sufferings of the Christians; it is however proper, that we enter into a more distinct and particular account of that matter.

The persecutions they suffered.

In *Gaul*, and the neighbouring provinces, the Goths and Vandals, whole cruel and sacrilegious soldiery respected neither the majesty of religion nor the rights of humanity, committed acts of barbarity and violence against a multitude of Christians.

In *Britain*, a long series of tumults and divisions involved the Christians in many troubles. When the affairs of the Romans declined in that country, the Britons were tormented by the Picts and Scots, nations remarkable for their violence and ferocity. Hence, after many sufferings and disasters, they chose, in the year 445, VORTIGERN for their king. This prince, finding himself too weak to make head against the enemies of his country, called the Anglo-Saxons from *Germany* to his aid in the year 449. The consequences of this measure were pernicious; and it soon appeared that this people, who came as auxiliaries

SENT. liaries into *Britain*, oppressed it with calamities
V.
PART I. more grievous than those which it had suffered from

its enemies. For the Saxons aimed at nothing less than to subdue the ancient inhabitants of the country, and to reduce the whole island under their dominion. Hence a most bloody and obstinate war arose between the Britons and Saxons, which, after having been carried on, during the space of an hundred and thirty years, with various success, ended in the defeat of the Britons, who were forced to yield to the Anglo-Saxons, and to seek a retreat in *Batavia* and *Cambria*. During these commotions, the state of the British church was deplorable beyond expression; it was almost totally overwhelmed and extinguished by the Anglo-Saxons, who adhered to the worship of the gods, and put an immense number of Christians to the most cruel deaths [w].

In Persia. IV. In *Persia*, the Christians suffered grievously by the imprudent zeal of *ABDAS*, bishop of *Suza*, who pulled down the *pyræum*, which was a temple dedicated to *fire*. For when this obstinate prelate was ordered by the king (*ISDEGERDES*) to rebuild that temple, he refused to comply; for which he was put to death in the year 414, and the churches of the Christians were levelled to the ground. This persecution was not however of long duration, but seems to have been extinguished soon after its commencement.

VARARENES, the son of the monarch already mentioned, treated the Christians in a manner yet more barbarous and inhuman in the year 421, to which he was led partly by the instigation of the Magi, and partly by his keen aversion to the Romans, with whom he was at war. For as often

[w] See, besides *BEDE* and *GILDA*, *JAC. USSER. Antiquitat. Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, cap. xii. p. 415. *RAPIN THOYRAS, Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. i. livr. ii. p. 91.

as the Persians and the Romans were at variance, so often did the Christians, who dwelt in Persia, feel new and redoubled effects of their monarch's wrath; and this from a prevailing notion, not perhaps entirely groundless, that they favoured the Romans, and rendered real services to their republic [x]. In this persecution, a prodigious number of Christians perished in the most exquisite tortures, and by various kinds of punishments [y]. But they were, at length, delivered from these cruel oppressions by the peace that was made in the year 427, between VARARENES and the Roman empire [z].

It was not from the Pagans only that the Christians were exposed to suffering and persecution; they were moreover harassed and oppressed in a variety of ways by the Jews, who lived in great opulence, and enjoyed a high degree of favour and credit in several parts of the east [a]. Among these none treated them with greater rigour and arrogance than GAMALIEL, the patriarch of that nation, a man of the greatest power and influence, whose authority and violence were, on that account, restrained, in the year 415, by an express and particular edict of THEODOSIUS the younger [b].

V. It does not appear, from any records of history now remaining, that any writings against CHRIST and his followers were published in this century, unless we consider as such the histories of OLYMPIODORUS [c] and ZOSIMUS, of whom

Christianity
opposed by
secret ene-
mies.

[x] THEODORET. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. cap. xxix. p. 245. BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article ABDAS. BARBLYRAC, *De la morale des Peres*, p. 320.

[y] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 182. 248.

[z] SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xx. p. 358.

[a] SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. cap. xiii. p. 349. cap. xvi. p. 353. *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 265.

[b] *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 262. -

[c] PHOTIUS, *Biblioth. Cod.* lxxx. p. 178.

CENT. the latter loses no opportunity of reviling the
V.
PART I. Christians, and loading them with the most unjust
 and bitter reproaches. But though the number
 of books written against Christianity was so small,
 yet we are not to suppose that its adversaries had
 laid aside the spirit of opposition. The schools
 of the philosophers and rhetoricians were yet open
 in *Greece, Syria, and Egypt*; and there is no doubt
 but that these subtle teachers laboured assiduously
 to corrupt the minds of the youth, and to instil
 into them, at least, some of the principles of the
 ancient superstition [d]. The history of these
 times, and the writings of several Christians who
 lived in this century, exhibit evident proofs of
 these clandestine methods of opposing the progress
 of the gospel.

[d] ZACHARIAS MITYLEN, *De officio Dei*, p. 165. 200.
 edit. Barthii.

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of learning and philosophy.

I. **T**HOUGH, in this century, the illiterate and ignorant were advanced to eminent and important stations, both ecclesiastical and civil, yet we must not conclude from thence, that the sciences were held in universal contempt. The value of learning, and the excellence of the *finer arts*, were yet generally acknowledged among the thinking part of mankind. Hence public schools were erected in almost all the great cities, such as *Constantinople, Rome, Marseilles, Edessa, Nisibis, Carthage, Lyons, and Treves*; and public instructors of capacity and genius were set apart for the education of the youth, and maintained at the expence of the emperors. Several bishops and monks contributed also to the advancement of knowledge, by imparting to others their small stock of learning and science. But the infelicity of the times, the incursions of the barbarous nations, and the scarcity of great geniuses, rendered the fruits of these excellent establishments much less than their generous founders and promoters expected.

CENT.
V.
PART II.

The state
of letters
among the
Christians.

II. In the western provinces, and especially in *Gaul*, there were indeed some men eminently distinguished by their learning and talents, and every way proper to serve as models to the lower orders in the republic of letters. Of this we have abundant proof from the writings of *MACROBIUS*,

In the west.

The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. SALVIAN, VINCENTIUS, bishop of *Liris*, ENNO-
PART II. DIUS, SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, CLAUDIAN, MA-
MERTUS, DRACONTIUS, and others, who, though
in some respects inferior to the more celebrated
authors of antiquity, are yet far from being desti-
tute of elegance, and discover in their produc-
tions a most laborious application to literary re-
searches of various kinds. But the barbarous na-
tions, which either spread desolation, or formed
settlements in the Roman territories, choked the
growth of those genial seeds, which the hand of
science had sowed in more auspicious times.
These savage invaders, possessed of no other am-
bition than that of conquest, and looking upon
military courage as the only source of true vir-
tue and solid glory, beheld of consequence the
arts and sciences with the utmost contempt.
Wherever therefore they extended their conquests,
ignorance and darkness followed their steps, and
the culture of the sciences was confined to the
priests and monks alone. And, even among these,
learning degenerated from its primitive lustre,
and put on the most unseemly and fantastic
form. Amidst the seduction of corrupt exam-
ples, the alarms of perpetual danger, and the
horrors and devastations of war, the Sacerdotal
and Monastic orders lost gradually all taste for
solid science, in the place of which they substi-
tuted a lifeless spectre, an enormous phantom of
barbarous erudition. They indeed kept public
schools, and instructed the youth in, what they
called, the *Seven liberal arts* [d]; but these, as we
learn from AUGUSTIN'S account of them, con-
sisted only of a certain number of dry, subtle,
and useless precepts; and were consequently more
adapted to load and perplex the memory, than to

[d] These *seven liberal arts* were *grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy*. See Cent. VIII. Part II. Ch. II. in this volume.

improve

improve and strengthen the judgment. So that, towards the conclusion of this century, the sciences were almost totally extinguished; at least, what remained of them was no more than a shadowy form, without either solidity or consistence.

III. The few that applied themselves to the study of philosophy in this age, had not, as yet, embraced the doctrine or method of ARISTOTLE. They looked upon the system of this eminent philosopher, as a labyrinth beset with thorns and thistles [e]; and yet, had they been able to read and understand his works, it is probable, that many of them would have become his followers. The doctrine of PLATO had a more established reputation, which it had enjoyed for several ages, and was considered not only as less subtle and difficult than that of the Stagirite, but also as more conformable to the genius and spirit of the Christian religion. Besides, the most valuable of Plato's works were translated into Latin by VICTORINUS, and were thus adapted to general use [f]. And SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS [g] informs us, that all those, among the Latins, who had any inclination to the study of truth, fell into the Platonic notions, and followed that sage as their philosophical guide.

The state of
philosophy
in the west.

IV. The fate of learning was less deplorable among the Greeks and Orientals, than in the western provinces; and not only the several branches of polite literature, but also the more solid and profound sciences, were cultivated by them with tolerable success. Hence we find among them more writers of genius and learning than in other

In the east.

[e] The passages of different writers, that prove what is here advanced, are collected by LAUNOIUS, in his book, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Academia Parisiensi*.

[f] See AUGUSTINI *Confessionum*, lib. 1. cap. ii. § 1. p. 105, 106. tom. 1. opp.

[g] See his *Epistles*, book iv. ep. iii. xi. book ix. ep. ix.

C E N T. countries. Those, who inclined to the study of
 V. law, resorted generally to *Berytus*, famous for its
 PART II. learned academy [b], or to *Alexandria* [i], which
 latter city was frequented by the students of physics and chemistry. The professors of eloquence, poetry, philosophy, and the other liberal arts, taught the youth in public schools, which were erected in almost every city. Those however of *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, and *Edeffa*, were looked upon as superior to all others, both in point of erudition and method [k].

Modern
 Platonius.

V. The doctrine and sect of the modern Platonics retained as yet, among the Syrians and Alexandrians, a considerable part of their ancient splendor. OLYMPIODORUS, HERO [l], and other philosophers of the first rank, added a lustre to the Alexandrian school. That of *Athens* was rendered famous by the talents and erudition of THEOPHRASTUS, PLUTARCH, and his successor SYRIAN. These were the instructors of the renowned PROCLUS, who far surpassed the Platonic philosophers of this century, and acquired such a high degree of the public esteem, as enabled him to give new life to the doctrine of PLATO, and restore it to its former credit in *Greece* [m]. MARINUS of *Neapolis*, AMMONIUS the son of HERMIAS, ISIDORUS and DAMASCIUS, the disciples of PROCLUS, followed, with an ardent emulation, the traces of their master, and formed successors that resembled them in all respects. But the imperial laws, and the daily progress of the Chris-

[b] See HASÆI *Libr. de Academia Jureconsultorum Berytensi*; as also MITYLENÆUS, *De officio Dei*, p. 164.

[i] ZACH. MITYLENÆUS, *De officio Dei*, p. 179.

[k] ÆNEAS GAZÆUS in *Theophrasto*, p. 6, 7, 16, &c.

[l] MARINUS, *vita Procli*, cap. ix. p. 19. edit. Fabricii.

[m] The life of PROCLUS, written by MARINUS, was published in 4to at *Hamburg*, in the year 1700, by JOHN ALBERT FABRICIUS, and was enriched, by this famous editor, with a great number of learned observations.

tian religion, gradually diminished the lustre and authority of these philosophers [a]. And as there were many of the Christian doctors who adopted the Platonic system, and were sufficiently qualified to explain it to the youth, this hindered, naturally, the schools of these heathen sages from being so much frequented as they had formerly been.

CENT.
 VII.
 PART II.

VI. The credit of the Platonic philosophy, and the preference that was given to it, as more excellent in itself, and less repugnant to the genius of the gospel than other systems, did not prevent the doctrine of ARISTOTLE from coming to light after a long struggle, and forcing its way into the Christian church. The Platonics themselves interpreted, in their schools, some of the writings of ARISTOTLE, particularly his Dialectics, and recommended that work to such of the youth as had a taste for logical discussions, and were fond of disputing. In this, the Christian doctors imitated the manner of the heathen schools; and this was the first step to that universal dominion, which the Stagirite afterward obtained in the republic of letters. A second, and a yet larger stride, which the Aristotelian philosophy made towards this universal empire, was, during the controversies which ORIGEN had occasioned, and the Arian, Eutychian, Nestorian, and Pelagian dissensions, which, in this century, were so fruitful of calamities to the Christian church. ORIGEN, as is well known, was zealously attached to the Platonic system. When therefore he was publicly condemned, many, to avoid the imputation of his errors, and to prevent their being counted among the number of his followers, adopted openly the philosophy of ARISTOTLE, which was

The philosophy of Aristotle rises into credit.

[a] See *ÆNEAS GAZÆUS* in *Theophrasto*, p. 6, 7, 8. 13. edit. Barthii.

C E N T.
V.
P A R T II

entirely different from that of ORIGEN. The Nestorian, Arian, and Eutychian controversies were managed, or rather drawn out, on both sides, by a perpetual recourse to subtle distinctions, and captious sophisms. And no philosophy was so proper to furnish such weapons, as that of ARISTOTLE; for that of PLATO was far from being adapted to form the mind to the Polemic arts. Besides, the Pelagian doctrine bore a striking resemblance of the Platonic opinions concerning God and the human soul; and this was an additional reason which engaged many to desert the Platonists, and to assume, at least, the name of Peripatetics.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the christian church, and its form of government.

The external form of church government somewhat changed.

SEVERAL causes contributed to bring about a change in the external form of ecclesiastical government. The power of the bishops, particularly those of the first order, was sometimes augmented, and sometimes diminished, according as the times and the occasions offered; and in all these changes the intrigues of the court and the political state of the empire had much more influence, than the rules of equity and wisdom.

These alterations were, indeed, matters of small moment. But an affair of much greater consequence drew now the general attention, and this was the vast augmentation of honours and rank that was at this time accumulated upon the bishops of *Constantinople*, in opposition to the most vigorous efforts of the Roman pontif. In the preceding century, the council of *Constantinople* had, on account of the dignity and privileges of
that

that imperial city, conferred upon its bishops a place among the first rulers of the Christian church. This new dignity adding fuel to their ambition, they extended their views of authority and dominion, and encouraged, no doubt, by the consent of the emperor, reduced the provinces of *Asia*, *Thrace*, and *Pontus* under their ghostly jurisdiction. In this century, they grasped at still further accessions of power; so that not only the whole eastern part of *Illyricum* was added to their former acquisitions, but they were also exalted to the highest summit of ecclesiastical authority. For, by the xxviiith *Canon* of the council held at *Chalcedon* in the year 451, it was resolved, that the same rights and honours, which had been conferred upon the bishop of *Rome*, were due to the bishop of *Constantinople*, on account of the equal dignity and lustre of the two cities, in which these prelates exercised their authority. The same council confirmed also, by a solemn act, the bishop of *Constantinople* in the spiritual government of those provinces over which he had ambitiously usurped the jurisdiction. LEO the GREAT, bishop of *Rome*, opposed, with vehemence, the passing of these decrees, and his opposition was seconded by that of several other prelates. But their efforts were vain, as the emperors threw in their weight into the balance, and thus supported the decisions of the Grecian bishops [o]. In consequence then of the decrees of this famous council, the bishop of *Constantinople* began to contend obstinately for the supremacy with the Roman pontif, and to crush the bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, so as to make them feel the oppressive effects of his pretended superiority. And none distinguished himself more by his ambition and arrogance in this

CENT.
V.
PART II.[o] LE QUIEN, *Orient: Christ.* tom. i. p. 36.

CENT.
V.
PART II.

The ambi-
tion of
Juvenal.

matter, than ACACIUS, one of the bishops of that imperial city [p].

II. It was much about this time that JUVENAL, bishop of *Jerusalem*, or rather of *Ælia*, attempted to withdraw himself and his church from the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Cæarea*, and aspired after a place among the first prelates of the Christian world. The high degree of veneration and esteem, in which the church of *Jerusalem* was held among all other Christian societies (on account of its rank among the apostolical churches, and its title to the appellation of *mother church*, as having succeeded the first Christian assembly founded by the apostles), was extremely favourable to the ambition of JUVENAL, and rendered his project much more practicable, than it would otherwise have been. Encouraged by this, and animated by the favour and protection of THEODOSIUS the younger, the aspiring prelate not only assumed the dignity of patriarch of all *Palestine* [q], a rank that rendered him supreme and independent of all spiritual authority, but also invaded the rights of the bishop of *Antioch*, and usurped his jurisdiction over the provinces of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*. Hence there arose a warm contest between JUVENAL and MAXIMUS bishop of *Antioch*,

[p] See BAYLL'S *Dictionary* in English, at the article ACACIUS.

[q] By *All Palestine*, the reader is desired to understand three distinct provinces, of which each bore the name of *Palestine*, and accordingly the original is thus expressed, *Trium Palestinarum Episcopum seu Patriarcham*. After the destruction of *Jerusalem*, the face of *Palestine* was almost totally changed, and it was so parcelled out and wasted by a succession of wars and invasions, that it preserved scarcely any trace of its former condition. Under the Christian emperors there were *Three Palestines* formed out of the ancient country of that name, each of which was an episcopal see. And it was of these three dioceses that JUVENAL usurped and maintained the jurisdiction. See, for a further account of the *Three Palestines*, SPANHEM's *Geographia Sacra*, opp. tom. i. p. 79.

which

which the council of *Chalcedon* decided, by restoring to the latter the provinces of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*, and confirming the former in the spiritual possession of all *Palestine* [r], and in the high rank which he had assumed in the church [s]. By this means, there were created, in this century, five superior rulers of the church, who were distinguished from the rest, by the title of Patriarchs [t]. The oriental historians mention a sixth, viz. The bishop of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, to whom, according to their account, the bishop of *Antioch* voluntarily ceded a part of his jurisdiction [u]. But this addition to the number of the patriarchs is unworthy of credit, as the only proof of it is drawn from the Arabic *laws* of the council of *Nice*, which are notoriously destitute of all authority.

The rights and privileges of the patriarchs.

III. The patriarchs were distinguished by considerable and extensive rights and privileges, that were annexed to their high station. They alone consecrated the bishops, who lived in the provinces that belonged to their jurisdiction. They assembled yearly in council the clergy of their respective districts, in order to regulate the affairs of the church. The cognizance of all important causes, and the determination of the more weighty controversies, were referred to the patriarch of the province where they arose. They also pronounced a decisive judgment in those cases, where accusations were brought against bishops. And,

[r] See also, for an account of the *Three Palestines*, CAROLI à S. PAULO *Geographia Sacra*, p. 307.

[s] See MICH. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 110.

[t] See the authors who have written concerning the Patriarchs, which are mentioned and recommended by the learned FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* cap. xiii. p. 453.

[u] ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 9. 13, &c.

lastly,

CENT.
PART II.

lastly, they appointed *vicars* [w], or deputies, clothed with their authority, for the preservation of order and tranquillity in the remoter provinces. Such were the great and distinguishing privileges of the patriarchs; and they were accompanied with others of less moment, which it is needless to mention.

It must, however, be carefully observed, that the authority of the patriarchs was not acknowledged through all the provinces without exception. Several districts, both in the eastern and western empires, were exempted from their jurisdiction [x]. The emperors, who reserved to themselves the *suprem* power in the Christian hierarchy, and received, with great facility and readiness, the complaints of those who considered themselves as injured by the patriarchs; the councils also, in which the majesty and legislative power of the church immediately resided; all these were so many obstacles to the arbitrary proceedings of the patriarchal order.

The inconveniences that accompanied the patriarchal authority and government.

IV. This constitution of ecclesiastical government was so far from contributing to the peace and prosperity of the Christian church, that it proved, on the contrary, a perpetual source of dissensions and animosities, and was productive of various inconveniences and grievances. The patriarchs, who, by their exalted rank and extensive authority, were equally able to do much good and much mischief, began to encroach upon the rights, and to trample upon the prerogatives of their bishops, and thus introduced, gradually, a

[w] DAV. BLONDEL. *De la Primauté de l'Eglise*, ch. xxv. p. 332. THEOD. RUINANT, *De pallio Archi-Episcopali*, p. 445. tom. II. of the posthumous works of MABILLON.

[x] EDWARD BREFWODIUS, *Dissert. de veteris Ecclesiæ gubernatione Patriarchali*; which is printed at the end of archbishop USHER's book, intitled, *Opusculum de origine Episcoporum et Metropolitan.*

fort of spiritual bondage into the church. And that they might invade, without opposition, the rights of the bishops, they permitted the bishops, in their turn, to trample, with impunity, upon the ancient rights and privileges of the people. For, in proportion as the bishops multiplied their privileges and extended their usurpations, the patriarchs gained new accessions of power by the despotism which they exercised over the episcopal order. They fomented also divisions among the bishops, and excited animosities between the bishops and the other ministers of the church; nay, they went still further, and sowed the seeds of discord between the clergy and the people, that all these combustions might furnish them with perpetual matter for the exercise of their authority, and procure them a multitude of clients and dependants. They left no artifice unemployed to strengthen their own authority, and to raise opposition against the bishops from every quarter. For this purpose it was, that they engaged in their cause by the most alluring promises, and attached to their interests by the most magnificent acts of liberality, whole swarms of monks, who served as intestine enemies to the bishops, and as a dead weight on the side of patriarchal tyranny. These monastic hirelings contributed more than any thing else, to ruin the ancient ecclesiastical discipline, to diminish the authority of the bishops, and raise, to an enormous and excessive height, the power and prerogatives of their insolent and ambitious patrons.

V. To these lamentable evils were added the ambitious quarrels, and the bitter animosities, that rose among the patriarchs themselves, and which produced the most bloody wars, and the most detestable and horrid crimes. The patriarch of *Constantinople* distinguished himself in these odious contests. Elated with the favour and proximity

The contention of the patriarchs.

C E N T.
V.
P A R T II.

imity of the imperial court, he cast a haughty eye on all sides, where any objects were to be found, on which he might exercise his lordly ambition. On the one hand, he reduced, under his jurisdiction, the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, as prelates only of the second order; and on the other, he invaded the diocese of the Roman pontif, and spoiled him of several provinces. The two former prelates, though they struggled with vehemence, and raised considerable tumults by their opposition, yet they struggled ineffectually, both for want of strength, and likewise on account of a variety of unfavourable circumstances. But the Roman pontif, far superior to them in wealth and power, contended also with more vigour and obstinacy, and, in his turn, gave a deadly wound to the usurped supremacy of the Byzantine patriarch.

The attentive inquirer into the affairs of the church, from this period, will find, in the events now mentioned, the principal source of those most scandalous and deplorable dissensions, which divided, first, the eastern church into various sects, and afterwards separated it entirely from that of the west. He will find, that these ignominious schisms flowed chiefly from the unchristian contentions for dominion and supremacy, which reigned among those who set themselves up for the fathers and defenders of the church.

The power
of the bishop
of Rome.

VI. None of the contending bishops found the occurrences of the times so favourable to his ambition, as the Roman pontif. Notwithstanding the redoubled efforts of the bishop of *Constantinople*, a variety of circumstances united in augmenting his power and authority, though he had not, as yet, assumed the dignity of supreme lawgiver and judge of the whole Christian church. The bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, unable to make head against the lordly prelate of *Constantinople*,

Constantinople, fled often to the Roman pontif for succour against his violence; and the inferior order of bishops used the same method, when their rights were invaded by the prelates of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. So that the bishop of *Rome*, by taking all these prelates alternately under his protection, daily added new degrees of influence and authority to the Roman see, rendered it every where respected, and was thus imperceptibly establishing its supremacy. Such were the means by which the Roman pontif extended his dominion in the east. In the west its increase was owing to other causes. The declining power and the supine indolence of the emperors, left the authority of the bishop who presided in their imperial city almost without controul. The incursions, moreover, and triumphs of the Barbarians were so far from being prejudicial to his rising dominion, that they rather contributed to its advancement. For the kings, who penetrated into the empire, were only solicitous about the methods of giving a sufficient degree of stability to their respective governments. And when they perceived the subjection of the multitude to the bishops, and the dependance of the bishops upon the Roman pontif, they immediately resolved to reconcile this ghostly ruler to their interests, by loading him with benefits and honours of various kinds.

Among all the prelates who ruled the church of *Rome* during this century, there was none who asserted, with such vigour and success, the authority and pretensions of the Roman pontif, as **LEO**, commonly surnamed the **GREAT**. It must be, however, observed, that neither he, nor the other promoters of that cause, were able to overcome all the obstacles that were laid in their way, nor the various checks which were given to their ambition. Many examples might be alleged in

C E N T. proof of this point, particularly the case of the
 V.
 P A R T II. Africans, whom no threats nor promises could engage to submit the decision of their controversies, and the determination of their causes, to the Roman tribunal [y].

The vices of
 the clergy.

VII. The vices of the clergy were now carried to the most enormous lengths; and all the writers of this century, whose probity and virtue render them worthy of credit, are unanimous in their accounts of the luxury, arrogance, avarice, and voluptuousness of the sacerdotal orders. The *bishops*, and particularly those of the first rank, created various delegates, or ministers who managed for them the affairs of their dioceses, and a sort of courts were gradually formed, where these pompous ecclesiastics gave audience, and received the homage of a cringing multitude. The office of a *presbyter* was looked upon of such a high and eminent nature, that MARTIN, bishop of *Tours*, was so audacious as to maintain, at a public entertainment, that the emperor was inferior, in dignity, to one of that order [z]. As to the *deacons*, their pride and licentiousness occasioned many and grievous complaints, as appears from the decrees of several councils [a].

These opprobrious stains, in the characters of the clergy, would never have been endured, had not the greatest part of mankind been sunk in superstition and ignorance, and all in general formed their ideas of the rights and liberties of Christian ministers from the model exhibited by the sacerdotal orders among the Hebrews, the

[y] LUD. EL. DU PIN, *De antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Diff. ii. p. 166. MEICH. LEYDECKERI, *Historia Ecclesiæ Africanæ*, tom. ii. Diff. ii. p. 505.

[z] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *De vita Martini*, cap. xx. p. 339. compared with *Dialog*, ii. cap. vi. p. 457.

[a] See DAV. BLONDEL. *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de episcopis et presbyteris*, p. 140.

Greeks, and Romans, during the law of MOSES, and the darkness of paganism. The barbarous nations also, those fierce and warlike Germans, who, after the defeat of the Romans, divided among them the western empire, bore, with the utmost patience and moderation, Both the dominion and vices of the bishops and priests, because, upon their conversion to Christianity, they became naturally subject to their jurisdiction; and still more, because they looked upon the ministers of CHRIST as invested with the same rights and privileges, which distinguished the priests of their fictitious deities.

C E N T.
V.
P A R T II.

VIII. The corruption of that order, who were appointed to promote, by their doctrine and examples, the sacred interests of piety and virtue, will appear less surprising when we consider, that multitudes of people of all kinds were every where admitted, without examination and without choice, into the body of the clergy, the greatest part of whom had no other view, than the enjoyment of a lazy and inglorious repose. Many of these ecclesiastics were confined to no fixed places or assemblies, had no employment of any kind, but sauntered about wherever they pleased, gaining their maintenance by imposing upon the ignorant multitude, and sometimes by mean and dishonest practices.

The sources
from
whence
proceeded
the vices of
the clergy.

But if any should ask, how this account is reconcileable with the number of saints, who, according to the testimonies of both the eastern and western writers, are said to have shone forth in this century? The answer is obvious; these saints were canonized by the ignorance of the times. For, in an age of darkness and corruption, those who distinguished themselves from the multitude, either by their genius, their writings, or their eloquence, by their prudence and dexterity in managing matters of importance, or by their meekness

C E N T. meekness and moderation, and the ascendant they
 V.
 P A R T II. had gained over their resentments and passions;
 all such were esteemed something more than men;
 they were revered as gods; or, to speak more
 properly, they appeared to others as men divinely
 inspired, and full of the deity.

The monks. IX. The monks, who had formerly lived only
 for themselves in solitary retreats, and had never
 thought of assuming any rank among the sacer-
 dotal order, were now gradually distinguished
 from the populace, and were endowed with such
 opulence and such honourable privileges, that
 they found themselves in a condition to claim an
 eminent station among the supports and pillars
 of the Christian community [b]. The fame of
 their piety and sanctity was at first so great, that
 bishops and presbyters were often chosen out
 of their order [c], and the passion of erecting edi-
 fices and convents, in which the monks and holy
 virgins might serve God in the most commo-
 dious manner, was at this time carried beyond all
 bounds [d].

The Monastic orders did not all observe the
 same rule of discipline, nor the same manner of
 living. Some followed the rule of AUGUSTINE,
 others that of BASIL, others that of ANTONY,
 others that of ATHANASIUS, others that of PA-
 CHOMIUS; but they must all have become ex-
 tremely negligent and remiss in observing the
 laws of their respective orders, since the licen-
 tiousness of the monks, even in this century, was

[b] EPIPHANIUS, *Exposit. fidei*, tom. i. opp. p. 1094.
 MABILLON, *Reponse aux Chanoines Regulares*, tom. ii. of his
 posthumous works, p. 115.

[c] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *De vita Martini*, cap. x. p.
 320 *Dial.* i. cap. xxi. p. 426.

[d] SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dial.* i. p. 419. NORISIUS,
Histor. Pelag. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 273. tom. i. opp. *Histoire
 Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 35.

become

become a proverb [e], and they are said to have excited the most dreadful tumults and seditions in various places. All the Monastic orders of all sorts were under the protection of the bishops in whose provinces they lived, nor did the patriarchs claim any authority over them, as appears with the utmost evidence from the decrees of the councils held in this century [f].

CENT.
V.
PART H.

X. Several writers of considerable merit adorned this century. Among the Greeks and Orientals, the first place is due to CYRIL, bishop of *Alexandria*, so famous for his learned productions, and the various controversies in which he was engaged. It would be unjust to derogate from the praises which are due to this eminent man: but it would betray, on the other hand, a criminal partiality, did we pass uncensured the turbulent spirit, the litigious and contentious temper, and the other defects, which are laid to his charge [g].

Greek
writers.

After CYRIL, we may place THEODORET, bishop of *Cyrus*, an eloquent, copious, and learned writer, eminent for his acquaintance with all the branches of sacred erudition, but unfortunate in his attachment to some of the Nestorian errors [b].

[e] SULP. SEVERUS, *Dial.* i. cap. viii. p. 399.

[f] See JO. LAUNOII *Inquisitio in chartam immunitatis B. Germani*, opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 3. In the ancient records, posterior to this century, the monks are frequently called Clerks. (See MABILLON. *Præf. ad Sæc. ii. Actor. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, p. 14.) And this shews, that they now began to be ranked among the clergy, or ministers, of the church.

[g] The works of CYRIL, in six volumes folio, were published at *Paris*, by AUBERT, in the year 1638.

[b] The Jesuit SIRMOND gave at *Paris*, in the year 1642, a noble edition of the works of this prelate in four volumes in folio; a fifth was added by GARNIER, in 1685. We must observe, in favour of this excellent ecclesiastic, so renowned for the sanctity and simplicity of his manners, that he abandoned the doctrines of NESTORIUS, and thus effaced the stain he had contracted by his personal attachment to that heretic, and to JOHN of *Antioch*,

CENT.
V.
PART II.

ISIDORE of *Pelusium* was a man of uncommon learning and sanctity. A great number [i] of his epistles are yet extant, and discover more piety, genius, erudition, and wisdom, than are to be found in the voluminous productions of many other writers [k].

THEOPHILUS, bishop of *Alexandria*, few of whose writings are now extant, acquired an immortal name by his violent opposition to ORIGEN, and his followers [l].

PALLADIUS deserves a rank among the better sort of authors, by his *Lausiac history*, and his *Life of CHRYSOSTOM*.

THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, though accused after his death of the greatest errors, was one of the most learned men of his time. Those who have read, with any attention, the fragments of his writings, which are to be found in PHOTIUS, will lament the want of these excellent compositions, which are either entirely lost, or, if any remain [m], are only extant among the Nestorians, and that in the Syriac language [n].

[i] The number of these *Epistles* amounts to 2012, which are divided into five books. They are short, but admirably written, and are equally recommendable for the solidity of the matter, and the purity and elegance of their style.

[k] The best edition of ISIDORE's *Epistles*, is that which was published in folio, by the Jesuit SCOTT, at *Paris*, in 1638.

[l] See EUSEB. RENAUDOTUS, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 103.

[m] See JOS. SIMON ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatic.* tom. iii. part ii. p. 227.

[n] It appears, by this account of the works of THEODORE, that Dr. MOSHEIM had not seen the *Dissertations* of the late DUKE OF ORLEANS, in one of which, that learned prince has demonstrated that the *Commentary upon the Psalms*, which is to be found in the *Chainor Collection of Corderius*, and which bears the name of THEODORE, is the production of THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*. There exists, also, besides the fragments that are to be found in PHOTIUS, a manuscript commentary of this illustrious author upon the XII minor Prophets.

NILUS,

NILUS, disciple of CHRYSOSTOM, composed several treatises of a practical and pious kind; but these performances derive more merit from the worthy and laudable intention of their author than from any other circumstance,

C E N T.
V.
PART II.

We pass over in silence BASILIUS of *Seleucia*; THEODOTUS of *Ancyra*; and GELASIUS of *Cyzicum*, for the sake of brevity.

XI. A Roman pontif, LEO I, surnamed the GREAT, shines forth at the head of the Latin writers of this century. He was a man of uncommon genius and eloquence, which he employed however too much in extending his authority; a point in which his ambition was both indefatigable and excessive [o].

The Latin
writers.

OROSIUS acquired a considerable degree of reputation by the *History* he wrote to refute the cavils of the Pagans against Christianity, and by his books against the Pelagians and Priscillianists [p].

CASSIAN, an illiterate and superstitious man, inculcated in *Gaul*, both by his discourse and his writings, the discipline and manner of living which prevailed among the Syrian and Egyptian monks, and was a sort of teacher to those who were called Semi-pelagians [q].

MAXIMUS of *Turin* published several *Homilies*, which are yet extant; and, though short, are,

[o] All the works of LEO were published at *Lyons*, in two volumes folio, in the year 1700, by the care of the celebrated QUENEL of the Oratory.

[p] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article OROSIUS. A valuable edition of this author, enriched with ancient coins and medals, was published in 4to, at *Leyden*, in the year 1738, by the learned HAVERCAMP.

[q] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 215. SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiastique par DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 156. The works of CASSIAN were published in folio at *Frankfort*, in the year 1722, with a large Commentary by ALARDUS GAZÆUS.

for the most part, commendable both for their elegance and piety.

EUCHERIUS of *Lyons*, and bishop of that city, was one of the most considerable moral writers that flourished among the Latins in this century [r].

PONTIUS of *Nola* [s], distinguished by his eminent and fervent piety, is also esteemed for his poems and other good performances.

PETER, bishop of *Ravenna*, obtained, by his eloquence, the title of *Chrysologus*; nor are his discourses entirely destitute of genius [t].

SALVIAN was an eloquent, but, at the same time, a melancholy and sour writer, who, in his vehement declamations against the vices of his times, unwarily discovers the defects of his own character [u].

[r] See a large account of this prelate, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 275.

[s] This pious and ingenious ecclesiastic is more generally known by the name of PAULIN. See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 179. The best edition of his works is that published by LE BRUN, at *Paris*, in the year 1685, in two volumes 4to.

[t] AGNELLI *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiæ Ravennatensis*, tom. i. p. 321.

[u] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, tom. ii. p. 517. The authors of the history, here referred to, give a different account of SALVIAN's character. They acknowledge, that his declamations against the vices of the age, in his *Treatise against Avarice*, and his *Discourse concerning Providence*, are warm and vehement; but they represent him notwithstanding as one of the most humane and benevolent men of his time. It is however beyond all doubt, that he was extravagantly austere in the rules he prescribed for the conduct of life. For what is more unnatural than to recommend to Christians, as a necessary condition of salvation, the leaving their whole substance to the poor, to the utter ruin of their children and relations? It must however be confessed, that his austerity in point of discipline was accompanied with the most amiable moderation towards those who differed from him in articles of faith. There is a most remarkable passage to this purpose, in his *Treatise concerning Providence*, book v. p. 100.

PROSPER of *Aquitain* and MARIUS MERCATOR C E N T. V. PART II. are abundantly known to such as have employed any part of their time and attention in the study of the Pelagian disputes, and the other controversies that were managed in this century.

VINCENT of *Lerins* gained a lasting reputation by his short, but excellent, treatise against the sects, intitled *Commonitorium* [*w*].

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, a tumid writer, though not entirely destitute of eloquence; VIGILIUS of *Tapsus*; ARNOBIUS the younger, who wrote a commentary on the book of Psalms; DRACONTIUS, and others of that class, are of too little consequence to deserve a more particular notice.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the church during this century.

1. **M**ANY points of religion were more largely explained, and many of its doctrines determined with more accuracy and precision, than they had been in the preceding ages. This was owing to the controversies that were multiplied, at this time, throughout the Christian world, concerning the *person and nature of CHRIST*; the *innate corruption and depravity of man*; the *natural ability of men to live according to*

Many points of religion determined.

[*w*] This work of VINCENT, which is commended by our author, seems scarcely worthy of such applause. I see nothing in it, but that blind veneration for ancient opinions, which is so fatal to the discovery and progress of truth, and an attempt to prove that nothing but the voice of tradition is to be consulted in fixing the sense of the Holy Scriptures. An ample account of VINCENT, PROSPER, and ARNOBIUS, is to be found in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 305. 342. 369.

C E N T. *the dictates of the divine law; the necessity of the di-*
 V: *vine grace in order to salvation; the nature and ex-*
 P A R T II. *istence of human liberty; and other such intricate*
 and perplexing questions. The sacred and venerable simplicity of the primitive times, which required no more than a true faith in the word of God, and a sincere obedience to his holy laws, appeared little better than rusticity and ignorance to the subtle doctors of this quibbling age. Yet so it happened, that many of the over-curious divines, who attempted to explain the nature and remove the difficulties of these intricate doctrines, succeeded very ill in this matter. Instead of leading men into the paths of humble faith and genuine piety, they bewildered them in the labyrinths of controversy and contention, and rather darkened than illustrated the sacred mysteries of religion by a thick cloud of unintelligible subtilties, ambiguous terms, and obscure distinctions. Hence arose new matter of animosity and dispute, of bigotry and uncharitableness, which flowed like a torrent through succeeding ages, and which all human efforts seem unable to vanquish. In these disputes, the heat of passion, and the excessive force of religious antipathy and contradiction, hurried frequently the contending parties into the most dangerous extremes.

Superstition
grows
apace.

II. If, before this time, the lustre of religion was clouded with superstition, and its divine precepts adulterated with a mixture of human inventions, this evil, instead of diminishing, increased daily. The happy souls of departed Christians were invoked by numbers, and their aid implored by assiduous and fervent prayers; while none stood up to censure or oppose this preposterous worship. The question, how the prayers of mortals ascended to the celestial spirits (a question which afterwards produced much wrangling and many idle fancies), did not as yet occasion

occasion any difficulty. For the Christians of this CENT.
V.
PART II. century did not imagine that the souls of the saints were so entirely confined to the celestial mansions, as to be deprived of the privilege of visiting mortals, and travelling, when they pleased, through various countries. They were further of opinion, that the places most frequented by departed spirits were those where the bodies they had formerly animated were interred; and this opinion, which the Christians borrowed from the Greeks and Romans, rendered the sepulchres of the saints the general rendezvous of suppliant multitudes [x]. The images of those, who, during their lives, had acquired the reputation of uncommon sanctity, were now honoured with a particular worship in several places; and many imagined, that this worship drew down into the images the propitious presence of the saints or celestial beings they represented; deluded, perhaps, into this idle fancy by the crafty fictions of the heathen priests, who had published the same thing concerning the statues of JUPITER and MERCURY [y]. A singular and irresistible efficacy was also attributed to the bones of martyrs, and to the figure of the cross, in defeating the attempts of Satan, removing all sorts of calamities, and in healing not only the diseases of the body, but also those of the mind [z]. We shall not

[x] LACTANTIUS, *Divinar. Institutionum*, lib. 1. p. 164. HESIODUS, *Op. et Dier.* ver. 122. Compare with these, SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Epist.* ii. p. 371. *Dial.* ii. cap. xiii. p. 474. *Dial.* iii. p. 512. ÆNEAS GAZÆUS, in *Theophrasto*, p. 65. MACARIUS in JAC. TOULII *Insignibus Itineris Italici*, p. 197. and other writers of this age.

[y] CLEMENTINA, *Homil.* x. p. 677. tom. i. PP. *Apostolic.* ARNOBIUS, *adv. Gentes*, lib. vi. p. 254. CASP. BARTHIUS, *ad Rutilium Numantian* p. 250.

[z] PRUDENTIUS, *Hymn.* xi. *de Coronis*, p. 150, 151. SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Ep.* i. p. 364. ÆNEAS GAZÆUS, in *Theophrasto*, p. 173.

CENT.
V.
PART II.

enter here into a particular account of the public supplications, the holy pilgrimages, the superstitious services paid to departed souls, the multiplication of temples, altars, penitential garments, and a multitude of other circumstances, that showed the decline of genuine piety, and the corrupt darkness that was eclipsing the lustre of primitive Christianity. As there were none in these times to hinder the Christians from retaining the opinions of their Pagan ancestors concerning departed souls, heroes, demons, temples, and such like matters, and even transferring them into their religious services; and as, instead of entirely abolishing the rites and institutions of ancient times, these institutions were still observed with only some slight alterations; all this swelled of necessity the torrent of superstition, and deformed the beauty of the Christian religion and worship with those corrupt remains of paganism, which still subsist in a certain church.

It will not be improper to observe here, that the famous Pagan doctrine, concerning the *purification of departed souls*, by means of a certain kind of *fire*, was more amply explained and confirmed now than it had formerly been [a]. Every body knows, that this doctrine proved an inexhaustible source of riches to the clergy through the succeeding ages, and that it still enriches the Romish church with its nutritious streams.

Interpreta-
tions of
scripture.

III. The interpretation of the Holy Scriptures employed fewer pens in this century than in the preceding age, in which the Christian doctors were less involved in the labyrinths of controversy. Yet, notwithstanding the multiplication of reli-

[a] See, particularly concerning this matter, AUGUSTIN, his book *de VIII Quæstionibus ad Dulcitum*, N. xiii. tom. vi. opp. p. 128. *De fide et operibus*, cap. xvi. p. 182. *De fide, spe, et charitate*, § 118. p. 222. *Enarratione Psal. xxxv.* § 3, &c.

gious disputes, a considerable number of learned men undertook this useful and important task. We shall not mention those who confined their illustrations to some one or a few books of the divine word, such as VICTOR of *Antioch*, POLYCHRONIUS, PHILO CARPATHIUS, ISIDORE of *Cordona*, SALONIUS, and ANDREW of *Cæsarea*. We must not, however, pass over in silence THEODORET and THEODORE, bishops of *Cyrus* and *Mopsuestia*, the two most famous expositors of this age, who illustrated a great part of the Holy Scriptures by their pious labours. They were truly eminent both in point of learning and genius; and, free and unprejudiced in their search after truth, they followed the explications of scripture given by their predecessors, only as far as they found them agreeable to reason. The commentaries of THEODORET are yet extant, and in the hands of the learned [b]; those of THEODORE are concealed in the east among the Nestorians, though on many accounts worthy to see the light [c]. CYRIL, of *Alexandria*, deserves also a place among the commentators of this century; but a still higher rank, among that useful and learned body, is due to ISIDORE of *Pelusium*,

[b] See SIMON, *Histoire critique des principaux Commentateurs de N. Test.* ch. xxii. p. 314; as also his *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiast. de DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 180. THEODORET wrote Commentaries upon the five books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, the *Psalms*, the *Canticles*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Baruch*, *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, the XII lesser Prophets, and St. Paul's XIV Epistles.

[c] Jos. SIM. ASSFMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatic.* tom. iii. § 2. p. 227. SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 108. 677. We are assured by FABRICIUS, upon the testimony of LAMBECIUS, that THEODORE's Commentary upon the XII Prophets is still in being, in MS. in the emperor's library at *Vienna*. See FABR. *Bibl. Græc.* tom. ix. p. 162. See also, for an ample and learned account of the writings of this author, LARDNER's *Credibility*, &c. vol. ix. p. 389.

whose

C E N T. V. whose epistles contain many observations, which
P A R T II. cast a considerable degree of light upon several
parts of scripture [d].

Many chimerical and weak commentators.

IV. It is, however, to be lamented, that the greatest part of the commentators, both Greek and Latin, following the idle fancies of ORIGEN, overlooked the true and natural sense of the words, and hunted after subtle and hidden significations, for *mysteries* (as the Latins then termed them) in the plainest precepts of the Holy Scriptures. Several of the Greeks, and particularly THEODORET, laboured, with success and precision, in illustrating the books of the New Testament; and their success here is to be principally attributed to their perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which they had learned from their infancy. But neither the Greeks nor Latins cast much light upon the Old Testament, which was cruelly tortured by the allegorical pens of almost all who attempted to illustrate and explain it. For nothing is more common, than to see the interpreters of the fifth century straining all the passages of that sacred book either to typify CHRIST, and the blessings of his kingdom, or Anti-christ, and the wars and desolations which he was to bring upon the earth, and that, without the least spark of judgment, or the smallest air of probability.

Some of more wisdom and judgment.

V. A few chosen spirits, superior to the others in sagacity and wisdom, were bold enough to stand up against these critical delusions, and to point out a safer and plainer way to divine truth. This we learn from the epistles of ISIDORE of *Pe-lusium*, who, though he was not himself entirely free from this allegorical contagion, yet censures

[d] See, for an account of these two authors, SIMON, *Histoire des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, chap. xxi. p. 300.

judiciously;

judiciously, in many places, those that abandoned the historical sense of the Old Testament, and applied, universally, all its narrations and predictions to CHRIST alone. But none went greater lengths in censuring the fanciful followers of ORIGIN, than THEODORE of Mopsuestia, who not only wrote a book concerning allegory and history against ORIGIN [e], but also, in his commentary on the prophets, did not hesitate to apply the most of their predictions to various events in ancient history [f]. This manner of interpreting scripture was very ill received, and contributed, perhaps, more to raise the general cry against him, than all the erroneous doctrines with which he was charged [g]. The Nestorians followed the example of this remarkable and eminent man [h]; and still continue to consider him as a saint of the first order, and to preserve his writings with the utmost care, as precious monuments of his piety and learning.

VI. The doctrines of religion were, at this time, understood and represented in a manner that favoured little of their native purity and sim-

Dialectic
theology.

[e] FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS, *De tribus Capitulis*, lib. iii. cap. vi. LIBFRATUS in *Breviario*, cap. xxiv.

[f] *Acta Concilii Constantinopol. II. seu Oecumenici* V. tom. iii. *Conciliorum*, p. 58. edit. Harduini.

[g] THEODORE, after his death, was considered as the parent of the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies; though, during his life, he was held in the highest esteem, and died in the communion of the church.

[h] This appears by the testimony of COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, a writer of the sixth century, who was, undoubtedly, a Nestorian. For this author, in the fifth book of his *Christian Topography*, which MONTFAUCON published in his new collection of the Greek fathers, maintains, that of all the Psalms of DAVID, four only are applicable to CHRIST. And to confirm this his opinion, he affirms boldly, that the writers of the New Testament, when they apply to JESUS the prophecies of the Old, do this rather by a mere accommodation of the words, without any regard to their true and genuine sense.

CENT.
V.
PART II.

plicity. They were drawn out by laboured commentaries beyond the terms in which the divine wisdom had thought fit to reveal them; and were examined with that minuteness and subtilty that were only proper to cover them with obscurity. And, what was still worse, the theological notions that generally prevailed, were proved rather by the authorities and logical discussions of the ancient doctors, than by the unerring dictates of the divine word. It does not appear that in this century any attempted to form a complete system of theology, unless we give that title to *six books of instruction*, which NICAËAS is said to have composed for the use of the Neophytes [i]. But, as we have already observed, the principal branches of religion were laboriously explained in the various books that were written against the Nestorians, Eutychians, Pelagians, and Arians.

The managers of the controversy against the Jews, Pagans, and Sectaries.

VII. The number of those, who disputed in this century against paganism and infidelity, was very considerable, yet not greater than the exigency of the times and the frequent attacks made upon Christianity rendered necessary. THEODORET, in his ingenious and learned treatise, *De curandis Græcorum affectionibus*, ORIENTIUS, in his *Commonitorium*, and EVAGRIUS, in his *Dispute between ZACHAEUS and APOLLONIUS*, opposed, with fortitude and vigour, those that worshipped images, and offered their religious services to the Pagan deities [k]. To these we may add, PHILIP SEDETES and PHILOSTORGIUS, of whom the latter attacked PORPHYRY, and the former JULIAN. BASILIUS of Seleucia; GRECENTIUS, in his *Controversy with HERBANUS*; and EVAGRIUS, in his *Dialogue between THEOPHILUS and JUDÆUS*,

[i] GENNADIUS MASSILIENSIS, *De Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* cap. xxii. p. 28. edit. Fabric.

[k] See, for an account of ORIENTIUS and EVAGRIUS, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 121 and 252.

exposed and refuted the errors and evils of the Jews. VOCONIUS the African; SYAGRIUS, in his *Book concerning Faith*; GENNADIUS of Mar-
seille, who deserves to be placed in the first rank; and THEODORET, in his *Treatise concerning the Fables of the Heretics*, opposed all the different sects; not to mention those who wrote only against the errors of one or other particular party.

CENT.
V.
PART II.

VIII. Those who disputed against the Christian sects, observed a most absurd and vicious method of controversy. They proceeded rather according to the rules of the ancient sophists, and, what is still more surprising, according to the spirit of the *Roman law*, than by the examples and instructions of CHRIST and his apostles. In the Roman courts, matters of a difficult and doubtful nature were decided by the authority of certain aged lawyers, who were distinguished by their abilities and experience. And when they happened to differ in opinion, the point was determined either by a plurality of voices, or by the sentiments of the more learned and illustrious members of that venerable body [1]. This procedure of the Roman tribunals was, in this century, admitted as a standing law, both in the deliberations and councils, and in the management of religious controversy, to the great and unspeakable detriment of truth. For by this, reason and even common sense were, in some measure, excluded from every question; and that was determined as *right* and *true*, which appeared such to the greatest number, or had been approved by doctors of the greatest note in preceding times. The *acts* of the various *councils*, which are yet extant, manifestly shew that this was the case. And this circumstance, combined with what we

The defects
of these dis-
putants.

[1] See the *Codex Theodos.* lib. i. tit. iv. *De responsis prudentium*, p. 32. edit. Ritterian.

C E N T. have already* observed with respect to the disputants of the age now under consideration, make it easy for us to imagine the various defects that must have prevailed in the methods of defending truth, and opposing error.

Spurious
writings.

IX. This absurd imitation of the Roman law in the management of religious controversy, this preposterous method of deciding truth by human authorities, were fruitful sources of spurious and supposititious productions. For many audacious impostors were hence encouraged to publish their own writings under the names of ancient Christian worthies, nay, under the sacred names of, even, CHRIST himself and his holy apostles; that thus in the deliberations of councils, and in the course of controversy, they might have authorities to oppose to authorities in defence of their respective opinions. The whole Christian church was, in this century, overwhelmed with these infamous cheats, these spurious productions. This is said to have engaged GELASIUS, the Roman pontif, to call together a council, composed of the bishops of the Latin church; in which assembly, after a strict examination of those writings which appeared under great and venerable names, the famous decree passed, that deprived so many *apocryphal* books of their borrowed authority. That something of this* kind really happened, it would be, perhaps, an instance of temerity to deny: but many learned men assert, that the decree attributed to GELASIUS, labours under the same inconveniency with the books which it condemns, and was, by no means, the production of that pontif, but of some deceiver, who usurped clandestinely his name and authority [m].

[m] PEARSONUS, *Vindiciar. Ignatianar.* part I. cap. iv. p. 189. CAVE, *Hist. Litter. Scriptor. Ecclesiæ.* p. 260. URB. GODOFR. SIBERUS, *Præfat. ad Enchiridion Sexti.* p. 79.

X. EUCHERIUS, SALVIAN, and NILUS, shine with a superior lustre among the moral writers of this century. The epistle of EUCHERIUS, *concerning the Contempt of the World, and the secular Philosophy*, is an excellent performance both in point of matter and style. The works of MARK the hermit breathe a spirit of fervent piety, but are highly defective in many respects. The matter is ill chosen, and it is treated without order, perspicuity, or force of reasoning. FASTIDIUS composed several discourses concerning moral duties, but they have not survived the ruins of time. The works, that are yet extant, of DIADOCHUS, PROSPER, and SEVERIAN, are extremely pleasing on account of the solidity and elegance which are to be found, for the most part, in their moral sentences, though they afford but indifferent entertainment to such as are desirous of precision, method, and sound argumentation. And indeed this want of method in the distribution and arrangement of their matter, and a constant neglect of tracing their subject to its first principles, are defects common to almost all the moral writers of this century.

XI. Had this, indeed, been their only defect, the candid and impartial would have supported it with patience, and attributed it charitably to the infelicity of the times. But many of the writers and teachers of this age did unspeakable injury to the cause of true piety by their crude and enthusiastic inventions. The Mystics, who pretended to higher degrees of perfection than other Christians, drew every where to their party, particularly in the eastern provinces, a vast number of the ignorant and inconsiderate multitude, by the striking appearance of their austere and singular piety. It is impossible to describe the rigour and severity of the laws which these senseless fanatics imposed upon themselves, in order, as they alleged,

CENT.
V.
PART II.
Moral writers.

CENT.
V.
PART II.

leged, to appease the deity, and to deliver the celestial spirit from the bondage of this mortal body. They not only lived among the wild beasts, but also lived after the manner of these savage animals; they ran naked through the lonely deserts with a furious aspect, and with all the agitations of madness and frenzy; they prolonged the life of their emaciated bodies by the wretched nourishment of grass and wild herbs, avoided the sight and conversation of men, remained motionless in certain places for several years, exposed to the rigour and inclemency of the seasons, and towards the conclusion of their lives shut themselves up in narrow and miserable huts; and all this was considered as true piety, the only acceptable method of worshipping the deity, and rendering him propitious [n]. The greatest part of the Mystics were led into the absurdities of this extravagant discipline, not so much by the pretended force of reason and argument, as by a natural propensity to solitude, a gloomy and melancholy cast of mind, and an implicit and blind submission to the authority and examples of others. For the diseases of the mind, as well as those of the body, are generally contagious, and no pestilence spreads its infection with a more dreadful rapidity than superstition and enthusiasm. Several persons have committed to writing the precepts of this severe discipline, and reduced its absurdities into a sort of system, such as JULIANUS POMERIUS among the Latins [o], and many, among the Syrians, whose names it is needless to mention.

The superstition of the
Sulites.

XII. Of all the instances of superstitious frenzy that disgraced this age, none was held in higher

[n] See the *Pratum Spirituale* of MOSCHUS; the *Lausiac History* of PALLADIUS; as also SULPITIUS SEVERUS, *Dial. i.*

[o] POMERIUS wrote a treatise, *De Vita Contemplativa*, in which the doctrines and precepts of the Mystics were carefully collected.

ven-

veneration, or excited more the wonder of the multitude, than that of a certain order of men, who were called Stilites by the Greeks, and Sancti Columnares, or Pillar Saints, by the Latins. These were persons of a most singular and extravagant turn of mind, who stood motionless upon the tops of pillars, expressly raised for this exercise of their patience, and remained there for several years, amidst the admiration and applause of the stupid populace. The inventor of this strange and ridiculous discipline was SIMEON, a Syrian, who began his follies by changing the agreeable employment of a shepherd, for the senseless austerities of the monkish life. But his enthusiasm carried him still greater lengths; for, in order to climb as near heaven as he could, he passed thirty-seven years of his wretched life upon five pillars of six, twelve, twenty-two, thirty-six, and forty cubits high, and thus acquired a most shining reputation, and attracted the veneration of all about him [p]. Many of the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, seduced by a false ambition, and an utter ignorance of true religion, followed the example of this fanatic, though not with the same degree of austerity [q]. And, what is almost incredible, this

[p] See the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Januarii*, tom. i. p. 261 —277. where the reader will find the account we have given of this whimsical discipline. THEODORET, indeed, had before given several hints of it, alleging, among other things, that SIMEON had gradually added to the height of his pillar, with a design to approach, by this means, nearer to heaven. See TILLEMONT, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. xv. p. 347. edit. Paris. See also the *Acts* of SIMEON the Stylite, in STEPH. EVODII ASSEMANNI *Actis Martyrum, Orientis et Occident.* vol. ii. p. 227. published at Rome, in folio, in the year 1748.

[q] The learned FREDERIC SPANHEIM, in his *Ecclesiastical History* (p. 1154.), speaks of a second SIMEON the Stylite (mentioned by EVAGRIUS, *Hist. lib. vi. cap. xxiii.*) who

CENT. this superstitious practice continued in vogue until
 V.
 PART II. the twelfth century, when however it was, at
 length, totally suppressed [r].

The Latins had too much wisdom and prudence to imitate the Syrians and Orientals in this whimsical superstition. And when a certain fanatic or impostor, named WULFILAICUS, erected one of these pillars in the country of Treves, and proposed living upon it after the manner of SIMEON; the neighbouring bishops ordered it to be pulled down, and thus nipped this species of superstition in the bud [s].

Further defects of the public instructors, and practical writers.

XIII. The Mystic rules of discipline and manners had a bad effect upon the moral writers, and those who were set apart for the instruction of Christians. Thus, in instructing the catechumens and others, they were more diligent and zealous in inculcating a regard for the external parts of religion, and an attachment to bodily exercise, than in forming the heart and the affections to inward piety and solid virtue. Nay, they went so far, as to prescribe rules of sanctity and virtue little different from the unnatural rigour and fanatical piety of the Mystics. SALVIAN, and other celebrated writers, gave it as their opinion, that none were truly and perfectly holy, but those who abandoned all riches and honours, abstained from matrimony, banished all joy and cheerful-

lived in the sixth century. This second fanatic seems to have carried his austerities still further than the chief of the sect; for he remained upon his pillar sixty-eight years, and from thence, like the first SIMEON, he taught, or rather deluded, the gazing multitude, declaimed against heresy, pretended to cast out devils, to heal diseases, and to foretel future events.

[r] See URB. GODOFR. SIBERI *Diff. de Sanctis Columnaribus*. CAROLI MAJELLI *Diff. de Stylitis*, published in ASSEMANNI *Acta Martyr. Orient. & Occident.* tom. ii. p. 246, where may be seen a copper-plate print of SIMEON's pillar.

[s] GREGOR. TURONENS. *Histor. Francor.* lib. viii. cap. xv. p. 387.

ness from their hearts, and macerated their bodies with various sorts of torments and mortifications. And as all could not support such excessive degrees of severity, those madmen, or fanatics, whose robust constitutions and savage tempers were the best adapted to this kind of life, were distinguished by the public applause, and saw their influence and authority increase daily. And thus saints started up like mushrooms in almost every place.

XIV. A small number of ecclesiastics, animated by the laudable spirit of reformation, boldly attempted to pluck up the roots of this growing superstition, and to bring back the deluded multitude from this vain and chimerical discipline to the practice of solid and genuine piety. But the votaries of superstition, who were superior in number, reputation, and authority, reduced them soon to silence, and rendered their noble and pious efforts utterly ineffectual [1]. We have an example of this in the case of VIGILANTIUS, a man remarkable for his learning and eloquence, who was born in *Gaul*, and went from thence to *Spain*, where he performed the functions of a presbyter. This ecclesiastic, on his return from a voyage he had made into *Palestine* and *Egypt*, began, about the beginning of this century, to propagate several doctrines, and to publish repeated exhortations quite opposite to the opinions and manners of the times. Among other things, he denied that the tombs and the bones of the martyrs were to be honoured with any sort of homage or worship; and therefore censured the pilgrimages that were made to places that were reputed holy. He turned into derision the prodigies which were said to be wrought in the temples consecrated to martyrs, and condemned

The controversy between Jerome and Vigilantius.

[1] AUGUSTIN complains of this, in his famous epistle to JANUARIUS, No. 119.

CENT. the custom of performing vigils in them. He
 V.
 PART II. asserted, and indeed with reason, that the custom
 of burning tapers at the tombs of the martyrs in
 broad day, was imprudently borrowed from the an-
 cient superstition of the Pagans. He maintained,
 moreover, that prayers addressed to departed
 saints were void of all efficacy; and treated with
 contempt fasting and mortifications, the celibacy
 of the clergy, and the various austerities of the
 monastic life. And, finally, he affirmed, that the
 conduct of those who, distributing their substance
 among the indigent, submitted to the hardships
 of a voluntary poverty, or sent a part of their
 treasures to *Jerusalem* for devout purposes, had
 nothing in it acceptable to the Deity.

There were among the Gallic and Spanish bi-
 shops several that relished the opinions of VIGI-
 LANTIUS. But JEROME, the great monk of the
 age, assailed this bold reformer of religion with
 such bitterness and fury, that the honest presbyter
 soon found that nothing but his silence could pre-
 serve his life from the intemperate rage of bigotry
 and superstition. This project then of reforming
 the corruptions, which a fanatical and supersti-
 tious zeal had introduced into the church, was
 choked in its birth[u]. And the name of good
 VIGILANTIUS remains still in the *list of heretics*,
 which is acknowledged as authentic by those who,
 without any regard to their own judgment or the
 declarations of scripture, followed blindly the de-
 cisions of antiquity.

Disputes
 about Ori-
 genism.

XV. The controversies, which had been raised
 in *Egypt*, concerning ORIGEN and his doctrine,
 towards the conclusion of the preceding century,
 were now renewed at *Constantinople*, and carried on
 without either decency or prudence. The Nitrian

[u] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article VIGILANTIUS.
 BARBEYRAC, *De la Morale des Peres*, p. 252. GERHAR.
 JO. VOSSIUS, *Thesibus Historico-Theologicis*, p. 170. *Histoire*
Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 57.

monks, banished from *Egypt*, on account of their attachment to ORIGEN, took refuge at *Constantinople*, and were treated, by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, the bishop of that city, with clemency and benignity. This no sooner came to the knowledge of THEOPHILUS, patriarch of *Alexandria*, than he formed a perfidious project against the eloquent prelate; and sent the famous EPIPHANIUS, with several other bishops, to *Constantinople*, to compass his fall, and deprive him of his episcopal dignity. No time could be more favourable for the execution of this project, than that in which it was formed; for CHRYSOSTOM, by his austerity, and his vehement declamations against the vices of the people, and the corrupt manners of the ladies of the court, had incurred the displeasure of many, and had also excited, in a more particular manner, the resentment and indignation of the empress EUDOXIA, wife of ARCADIVS. This violent princess sent for THEOPHILUS and the Egyptian bishops, who, pursuant to her orders, repaired to *Constantinople*; and having called a council, inquired into the religious sentiments of CHRYSOSTOM, and examined his morals, and the whole course of his conduct and conversation, with the utmost severity. This council, which was held in the suburbs of *Chalcedon*, in the year 403, with THEOPHILUS at its head, declared CHRYSOSTOM unworthy of his high rank in the church, on account of the favourable manner in which he stood disposed towards ORIGEN and his followers; and, in consequence of this decree, condemned him to banishment. The people of *Constantinople*, who were tenderly attached to their pious and worthy bishop, rose in a tumultuous manner, and prevented the execution of this unrighteous sentence [w]. When this tumult was entirely hushed,

[w] This is not quite exact. For it appears, by the accounts of the best Historians, that this sentence was really executed.

CENT.
V.
PART II.

ed, the same unrelenting judges, in order to satisfy their vindictive rage and that of EUDOXIA, renewed their sentence, the year following, under another pretext [x], and with more success; for the pious CHRYSOSTOM, yielding to the redoubled efforts of his enemies, was banished to *Cucusus*, a city of *Cilicia*, where he died about three years after [y].

The exile of this illustrious man was followed by a terrible sedition of the Johannists (so his votaries were called), which was calmed, though with much difficulty, by the edicts of ARCADIVS [z]. It is beyond all doubt, that the proceedings against CHRYSOSTOM were cruel and unjust; in this however he was to blame, that he assumed the authority and rank which had been granted, by the council of *Constantinople*, to the bishops of that imperial city, and set himself up as a judge of the controversy between THEOPHILUS and the Egyptian monks, which the Alexandrian prelate could not behold without the utmost impatience and resentment. These monks, when they lost their protector, were restored to the favour of THEOPHILUS; but the faction of the Origenists conti-

executed, and that the emperor confirmed the decree of this first synod, by banishing CHRYSOSTOM into *Bithynia*; or, as others allege, by ordering him to retire to the country. A violent earthquake and a terrible shower of hail, which were looked upon by the multitude as judgments occasioned by the unrighteous persecution of their pious bishop, alarmed the court, and engaged them to recal CHRYSOSTOM to his office.

[x] This new pretext was the indecent manner, in which CHRYSOSTOM is said to have declaimed against EUDOXIA, on account of her having erected her statue in silver near the church.

[y] See TILLEMONT and HERMANT, who have both written the life of CHRYSOSTOM; as also BAYLE's *Dictionary*, in English, at the article ACACIVS.

[z] See CYRILLI *vita Sabæ* in COTELERII *Monument. Eccles. Græc.* tom. ii. p. 274. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 31.

nued,

nued, notwithstanding all this, to flourish in *Egypt, Syria*, and the adjacent countries, and held their chief residence at *Jerusalem*.

C E N T.
V.
PART II.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

I. **T**O enumerate the rites and institutions that were added, in this century, to the Christian worship, would require a volume of a considerable size. The *acts of councils*, and the records left us by the most celebrated ancient writers, are the sources from whence the curious may draw a satisfactory and particular account of this matter; and to these we refer such as are desirous of something more than a general view of the subject under consideration. Several of these ancient writers, uncorrupted by the contagious examples of the times in which they lived, have ingenuously acknowledged that true piety and virtue were smothered, as it were, under that enormous burthen of ceremonies under which they lay groaning in this century. This evil was owing partly to the ignorance and dishonesty of the clergy; partly to the calamities of the times, which were extremely unfavourable to the pursuit of knowledge, and to the culture of the mind; and partly, indeed, to the natural depravity of imperfect mortals, who are much more disposed to worship with the eye than with the heart, and are more ready to offer to the deity the laborious pomp of an outward service, than the nobler, yet simple oblation of pious dispositions and holy affections.

Ceremonies
greatly
multiplied.

II. Divine worship was now daily rising from one degree of pomp to another, and degenerating

A general
view of the
new rites
introduced
at this time,

CENT.
V.
PART II.

more and more into a gaudy spectacle, only proper to attract the stupid admiration of a gazing populace. The sacerdotal garments were embellished with a variety of ornaments, with a view to excite in the minds of the multitude a greater veneration for the sacred order. New acts of devotion were also celebrated. In *Gaul*, particularly, the solemn *prayers* and *supplications*, which usually precede the anniversary of CHRIST's ascension, were now instituted for the first time [a]. In other places, perpetual acclamations of praise to God were performed both night and day by singers, who succeeded each other, so as that the service suffered no interruption [b]; as if the Supreme Being took pleasure in such noisy and turbulent shouting, or received any gratification from the blandishments of men. The riches and magnificence of the churches exceeded all bounds [c]. They were also adorned with costly images, among which, in consequence of the Nestorian controversy, that of the Virgin MARY, holding the child Jesus in her arms, obtained the first and principal place. The altars, and the chests in which the relics were preserved, were in most places made of solid silver. And from this we may easily imagine the splendor and expences that were lavished upon the other utensils which were employed in the service of the church.

The feasts
of charity.

III. On the other hand, the *agapæ*, or *feasts of charity*, were now suppressed, on account of the abuses to which they gave occasion, amidst the daily decline of that piety and virtue, which

[a] See SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Epist.* lib. v. *epist.* xvi. lib. vi. *epist.* i.; as also MARTENE, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. v. p. 47.

[b] GERVAIS, *Histoire de Suger*, tom. i. p. 23.

[c] See ZACHARIAS of Mytilene, *De officio Mundi*, p. 165.
166.

rendered these meetings useful and edifying in the primitive ages.

A new method also of proceeding with *penitents* was introduced into the Latin church. For grievous offenders, who had formerly been obliged to confess their guilt in the face of the congregation,* were now delivered from this mortifying penalty, and obtained, from LEO the GREAT, a permission to *confess* their crimes *privately* to a priest appointed for that purpose. By this change of the ancient discipline, one of the greatest restraints upon licentiousness, and the only remaining barrier of chastity, was entirely removed, and the actions of Christians were subject to no other scrutiny than that of the clergy; a change, which was frequently convenient for the sinner, and also advantageous in many respects to the sacred order.

C E N T.
V.
PART II.
Penitents.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the dissensions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

I. SEVERAL of those sects, which had divided the church in the preceding ages, renewed their efforts at this time, to propagate their respective opinions, and introduced* new tumults and animosities among the Christians. We shall say nothing of the Novatians, Marchionites, and Manicheans, those inauspicious and fatal names that disgrace the earlier annals of the church, though it is evident, that as yet their sects subsisted, and were even numerous in many places. We shall confine ourselves to an account of the Donatists and Arians, who were the pests of the preceding century.

Ancient
heresies re-
vived.

The

CENT.

V.
PART II.The Dona-
tists.

The Donatists had hitherto maintained themselves with a successful obstinacy, and their affairs were in a good state. But, about the beginning of this century the face of things changed much to their disadvantage, by the means of St. AUGUSTINE, bishop of *Hippo*. The Catholic bishops of *Africa*, animated by the exhortations and conducted by the counsels of this zealous prelate, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the destruction of this seditious sect, whom they justly looked upon, not only as troublesome to the church by their obstinacy, but also as a nuisance to the state by the brutal soldiery [*d*] which they employed in their cause. Accordingly deputies were sent, in the year 404, from the council of *Carthage*, to the emperor HONORIUS, to request, that the laws enacted against heretics, by the preceding emperors, might have force against the Donatists, who denied that they belonged to the heretical tribe; and also to desire, that bounds might be set to the barbarous fury of the Circumcelliones. The first step that the emperor took, in consequence of this request, was to impose a fine upon all the Donatists, who refused to return into the bosom of the church, and to send their bishops and doctors into banishment. The year following, new laws, much severer than the former, were enacted against this rebellious sect, under the title of *Acts of uniformity*. And as the magistrates were remiss in the execution of them, the council of *Carthage*, in the year 407, sent a second time deputies to the emperor, to desire that certain persons might be appointed to execute these *edicts* with vigour and impartiality; and their request was granted.

II. The faction of the Donatists, though much broke by these repeated shocks, was yet far from

[*d*] The *Circumcelliones* already mentioned.

being

being totally extinguished. It recovered a part of its strength in the year 408, after STILICHO had been put to death by the order of HONORIUS, and gained a still further accession of vigour the year following, in which the emperor published a law in favour of liberty of conscience, and prohibited all compulsion in matters of religion. This law, however, was not of long duration. It was abrogated at the earnest and repeated solicitations of the council, which was held at *Carthage* in the year 410; and MARCELLINUS the tribune was sent by HONORIUS into *Africa*, with full power to bring to a conclusion this tedious and unhappy contest. MARCELLINUS therefore held at *Carthage*, in the year 411, a solemn conference, in which he examined the cause with much attention, heard the contending parties during the space of three days, and, at length, pronounced sentence in favour of the Catholics [e]. The Catholic bishops, who were present at this conference, were 286 in number; and those of the Donatists 279. The latter, upon their defeat, appealed to the emperor, but without effect. The glory of their defeat was due to AUGUSTIN, who bore the principal part in this controversy, and

CENT.
V.
PART II.

[e] See FRANC. BALDUIN, *Hist. Collationis Carthag.* in OPTAT. *Milev. Pinian.* p. 337. It is proper to observe, here, that this meeting, held by MARCELLINUS, is very improperly termed a conference (*collatio*). For there was no dispute carried on at this meeting between the Catholics and the Donatists; nor did any of the parties endeavour to gain or defeat the other by superiority of argument. This conference then was properly a *judicial trial*, in which MARCELLINUS was, by the emperor, appointed judge, or arbiter, of this religious controversy, and accordingly pronounced sentence after a proper hearing of the cause. It appears therefore from this event, that the notion of a supreme spiritual judge of controversy, and ruler of the church, appointed by CHRIST, had not as yet entered into any one's head; since we see the African bishops themselves appealing to the emperor in the present religious question

C E N T. who, indeed, by his writings, counsels, and ad-
 V. monitions, governed almost the whole *African*
 PART II. church, and all the principal and most illustrious
 heads of that extensive province.

III. By this conference, the party of the Donatists was greatly weakened ; nor could they ever get the better of this terrible shock, though the face of affairs changed afterwards in a manner that was proper to revive their hopes. The greatest part of them, through the fear of punishment, submitted to the emperor's decree, and returned into the bosom of the church ; while the severest penalties were inflicted upon those who remained obstinate, and persisted in their rebellion. Fines, banishment, confiscation of goods, were the ordinary punishments of the obstinate Donatists ; and even the pain of death was inflicted upon such as surpassed the rest in perverseness, and were the seditious ringleaders of that stubborn faction. Some avoided these penalties by flight, others by concealing themselves, and some were so desperate as to seek deliverance by self-murder, to which the Donatists had a shocking propensity. In the mean time, the Circumcelliones used more violent methods of warding off the execution of the sentence that was pronounced against their sect ; for they ran up and down through the province of *Africa* in the most outrageous manner, committing acts of cruelty every where, and defending themselves by force of arms.

The Donatists, indeed, recovered afterwards their former liberty and tranquillity by the succour and protection they received from the Vandals, who invaded *Africa*, with GENSERIC at their head, in the year 427, and took this province out of the hands of the Romans. The wound, however, that this sect had received from the vigorous execution of the imperial laws, was so deep, that though they began to revive and multiply by
 the

the assistance of the Vandals, yet they could never arrive at their former strength and lustre.

C E N T.
V.
P A R T II.

The state of
the Arians.

IV. The Arians, oppressed and persecuted by the imperial edicts, took refuge among those fierce and savage nations, who were gradually overturning the western empire, and found among the Goths, Suevi, Heruli, Vandals, and Burgundians, a fixed residence and a peaceful retreat. And as their security animated their courage, they treated the Catholics with the same violence which the latter had employed against them and other heretics; and they persecuted and vexed in various ways such as professed their adherence to the Nicene doctrines. The Vandals, who reigned in *Africa*, surpassed all the other savage nations in barbarity and injustice towards the Catholics. The kings of this fierce people, particularly GENSERIC and HUNERIC his son, pulled down the churches of those Christians who acknowledged the divinity of CHRIST, sent their bishops into exile, and maimed and tormented in various ways such as were nobly firm and inflexible in the profession of their faith [*f*]. They however declared, that, in using these severe and violent methods, they were authorized, by the example of the emperors, who had enacted laws of the same rigorous nature against the Donatists, the Arians, and other sects who differed in opinion from the Christians of *Constantinople* [*g*].

We must not here omit mentioning the stupendous miracle, which is said to have been wrought during these persecutions in *Africa*, and by which the Supreme Being is supposed to have declared his displeasure against the Arians, and

[*f*] See VICTOR VITENS. lib. iii. *De persecutione Vandalica*, which THEOD. RUINART published at *Paris* in the year 1694, in 8vo. with his *History* of the same persecution.

[*g*] See the edict of HUNERIC, in the history of VICTOR, mentioned in the preceding note, lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 64.

his

GEN T. his favour towards their adversaries. This mi-
 V. racle consisted in enabling those Catholics, whose
 PART II. tongues had been cut out by the Arian tyrant
 HUNERIC, to speak distinctly, and to proclaim
 aloud the divine majesty of the Saviour of the
 world. This remarkable fact can scarcely be de-
 nied, since it is supported by the testimony of
 the most credible and respectable witnesses [b];
 but

☞ [b] These witnesses, who had themselves ocular demon-
 stration of the fact, were VICTOR of Utica, ÆNEAS of Gaxa
 (who examined the mouths of the persons in question, and
 found that their tongues were entirely rooted out) PROCOPIUS,
 MARCELLINUS the count, and the emperor JUSTINIAN.
 Upon the authority of such respectable testimonies, the learned
 ABBADIE formed a laboured and dexterous defence of the
 miraculous nature of this extraordinary fact, in his work, in-
 titled, *La Triomphe de la Providence*, &c. vol. iii. page 255,
 &c. where all the fire of his zeal, and all the subtilty of his
 logic, seem to have been exhausted. Dr BERRIMAN, in his
Historical Account of the Trinitarian Controversy, as also in his
 sermons preached at lady MOYER's lectures, in the year 1725;
 and Dr. CHAPMAN, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, have main-
 tained the same hypothesis. To the former, an answer was
 published by an anonymous writer, under the following title,
*An Enquiry into the Miracle said to have been wrought in the fifth
 Century, upon some orthodox Christians, in favour of the Doctrine
 of the Trinity, &c. in a Letter to a Friend.* We may venture
 to say, that this answer is utterly unsatisfactory. The author
 of it, after having laboured to invalidate the testimony alleged
 in favour of the fact, seems himself scarcely convinced by his
 own arguments; for he acknowledges at last the possibility of
 the event, but persists in denying the miracle, and supposes,
 that the cruel operation was so imperfectly performed upon
 these confessors, as to leave in some of them such a share of that
 organ, as was sufficient for the use of speech. Dr. MIDDLETON
 (to whom some have attributed the forementioned *Answer*)
 maintains the same hypothesis, in his *Free Inquiry into the mi-
 raculous Powers*, &c. supposing, that the tongues of the persons
 in question were not entirely rooted out, which he corroborates
 by the following consideration, that two of the sufferers are
 said to have utterly lost the faculty of speaking. For though
 this be ascribed to a peculiar judgment of God punishing the
 immoralities, of which they were afterwards guilty, yet this
 appears to the doctor, to be a forced and improbable solution of
 the matter, who imagines he solves it better by supposing, that
 they

but whether it is to be attributed to a supernatural and miraculous power, is a matter not
 10

CENT.
V.
PART II.

they had not been deprived of their intire tongues. He goes yet further, and produces two cases from the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, which prove in his opinion, 'That this pretended miracle owed its whole credit "to our ignorance of the powers of nature." The first is, that of a girl born without a tongue, who yet talked as easily and distinctly, as if she had enjoyed the full benefit of that organ; and the second, that of a boy, who, at the age of eight or nine years, lost his tongue by a gangrene or ulcer, and yet retained the faculty of speaking. See MIDDLETON'S *Free Inquiry*, &c. p. 183, 184.

This reasoning of the sceptical doctor of divinity appeared superficial and unsatisfactory to the judicious Mr. DODWELL, who (saying nothing about the case of the two Trinitarians who remained dumb, after their tongues were cut out, and whose dumbness is but indifferently accounted for by their immorality, since gifts have been often possessed without graces) confines himself to the consideration of the two parallel facts drawn from the *Academical Memoirs* already mentioned. To shew that these facts prove little or nothing against the miracle in question, he justly observes, that though, in one or two particular cases, a mouth may be so singularly formed as to utter articulate sounds, without the usual instrument of speech (some excrescence probably supplying the defect), yet it cannot be any thing less than miraculous, that this should happen to a considerable number of persons, whose tongues were cut out to prevent their preaching a discountenanced doctrine. To deny the miracle in question, we must maintain, that it is as easy to speak without a tongue, as with it. See Mr. DODWELL'S *Free Answer to Dr. MIDDLETON'S Free Inquiry*, &c. p. 96, 97, &c.

Mr. TOLL, who defended MIDDLETON'S hypothesis, has proposed an objection *a priori*, as it may be justly called, against the truth of this miracle. He observes, that the occasion on which it was wrought was not of sufficient consequence or necessity to require a divine interposition; for it was not wrought to convert infidels to Christianity, but to bring over the followers of ARIUS to the Athanasian faith; it was wrought, in a word, for the explication of a doctrine, which both sides allowed to be founded in the New Testament. Now, as the Holy Scriptures are a revelation of the will of God, "it seems (says Mr. TOLL) to cast a reflexion on his wisdom, "as if he did things by halves, to suppose it necessary for "him to work miracles, in order to ascertain the sense of "those scriptures. This (continues he) would be multiply-
 "ing,

SENT. so easily decided, and which admits of much
 V.
 PART II. dispute [i].

“ing miracles to an infinite degree;—besides, it would destroy the universal truth of that proposition from which we cannot depart, (namely, *That the scriptures are sufficiently plain in all things necessary to salvation.*” See Mr. TOLL’s *Defence of Dr. MIDDLETON’s Free Inquiry, against Mr. DODWELL’s Free Answer*, p. 81, 82. To this specious objection Mr. DODWELL replies, that on the doctrine in dispute between the Arians and the Orthodox depend the true notion, as well as the importance and reality of our salvation; that the doctrines, duties, and motives of Christianity are *exalted or debased*, as we embrace the one or the other of those systems; that on the *divinity of CHRIST*, the *meritoriousness* of the propitiation offered by him must entirely rest; and that, therefore, no occasion of greater consequence can be assigned on which a miracle might be expected. He adds, that the disputes which men have raised about certain doctrines, are no proof that these doctrines are not plainly revealed in scripture, seeing this would prove that no truth is there sufficiently revealed, because, at one time or other, they have been all disputed: and he observes judiciously, that the expediency of interposing by miracles, is what we always are not competent judges of, since God only knows the times, seasons, and occasions, in which it is proper to alter the usual course of nature, in order to maintain the truth, to support the oppressed, and to carry on the great purposes of his gospel kingdom. It is enough, that the present interposition be not *incredible*, to remove Mr. TOLL’s objection, without considering its particular use, and the unexceptionable manner in which it is attested. See Mr. DODWELL’s *Full and final Reply to Mr. TOLL’s Defence*, &c. p. 270, 271.

We must observe here that this latter objection and answer are merely hypothetical, *i. e.* they draw their force only from the different opinions, which the ingenious Mr. TOLL and his learned antagonist entertain concerning the importance of the doctrine, in favour of which this pretended miracle is said to have been wrought. The grand question, whose decision alone can finish this controversy, is, whether the tongues of these African confessors were entirely rooted out, or no? The case of the two who *remained dumb* furnishes a shrewd presumption, that the cruel operation was not equally performed upon all. The immorality of these two, and the judgment of God, suspending with respect to them the influence of the miracle, do not solve this difficulty entirely, since (as we observed above) many have been possessed of *supernatural gifts* without *graces*; and CHRIST tells us, that many have *cast out devils in his name*, whom at the last day he will not acknowledge as his faithful servants.

V. A new sect, which was the source of most fatal and deplorable divisions in the Christian church, was formed by NESTORIUS, a Syrian bishop of *Constantinople*, a disciple of the celebrated THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, and a man remarkable for his learning and eloquence, which were, however, accompanied with much levity and with intolerable arrogance. Before we enter into a particular account of the doctrine of this sectary, it is proper to observe, that though, by the decrees of former councils, it had been clearly and peremptorily determined that CHRIST was, at the same time, true God and true man; yet no council had hitherto decreed any thing concerning the *manner* and *effect* of this union of the two natures in the divine Saviour; nor was this matter, as yet, become a subject either of inquiry or dispute among Christians. The consequence of this was, that the Christian doctors expressed themselves differently concerning this mystery. Some used such forms of expression as seemed to widen the difference between the son of God and the son of man, and thus to divide the nature of CHRIST into two distinct persons. Others, on the contrary, seemed to confound too much the son of God with the son of man; and to suppose the nature of CHRIST *composed* of his divinity and humanity blended together into one.

The heresy of APOLLINARIS had given occasion to these different ways of speaking. For he maintained that the man CHRIST was not endowed with a human soul, but with the divine nature, which was substituted in its place, and performed its functions; and this doctrine manifestly supposed a *confusion* of the two natures in the MESSIAH. The Syrian doctors therefore, that they

CENT.
V.
PART II.

The rise of
Nestorianism.

[2] See RUINARTI *Histor. Persequut. Vandal.* part II. cap. vii. p. 482. See *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. iii. part II. p. 339. tom. v. part I. p. 171.

C E N T. V. might avoid the errors of APOLLINARIS, and ex-
P A R T II. clude his followers from the communion of the
church, were careful in establishing an accurate
distinction between the divine and the human na-
ture in the son of God; and for this purpose they
used such forms of expression as seemed to favour
the notion of CHRIST's being composed of two
distinct persons. The manner of speaking, adopted
by the Alexandrians and Egyptians, had a dif-
ferent tendency, and seemed to countenance the
doctrine of APOLLINARIS, and by a *confusion* of
the *two natures* to blend them into *one*. NESTO-
RIUS, who was a Syrian, and had adopted the
sentiments of the doctors of his nation, was a vio-
lent enemy to all the sects; but to none so much
as to the Apollinarian faction, after whose ruin he
breathed with an ardent and inextinguishable
zeal. He therefore discoursed concerning the
two natures in CHRIST after the Syrian manner,
and commanded his disciples to distinguish care-
fully between the *actions* and *perceptions* [k] of the
son of God, and those of the son of man [l].

The occa-
sion of the
Nestorian
controversy.

VI. The occasion of this disagreeable contro-
versy was furnished by the Presbyter ANASTASIUS,
a friend of NESTORIUS. This presbyter, in a
public discourse delivered A. D. 428, declaimed

[k] The original word *perpeffio*, which signifies properly
suffering, or *passion*, we have here translated, by the general
term, *perception*, because *suffering*, or *passion*, cannot be, in
any sense, attributed to the *divine nature*.

[l] The Jesuit DOUCIN published at Paris, A. D. 1716,
A history of Nestorianism: but it is such a history as might be
expected from a writer, who was obliged, by his profession,
to place the arrogant CYRIL among the saints, and NESTO-
RIUS among the heretics. The ancient writers, on both sides
of this controversy, are mentioned by JO. FRANC. BUDDÆUS,
in his *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 1084. The accounts
given of this dispute by the Oriental writers, are collected by
EUSEB. RENAUDOT. in his *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.*
p. 108. and by JOS. SIM. ASSEMANUS, in his *Biblioth.*
Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 67.

warmly

warmly against the title of Θεοτόκος, or *mother of God*, which was now more frequently attributed to the Virgin MARY in the controversy against the Arians, than it had formerly been, and was a favourite term with the followers of APOLLINARIS. He, at the same time, gave it as his opinion, that the Holy Virgin was rather to be called Χριστοτόκος, i. e. *mother of Christ*, since the deity can neither be born nor die, and of consequence the son of man alone could derive his birth from an earthly parent. NESTORIUS applauded these sentiments, and explained and defended them in several discourses[m]. But both he and his friend ANASTASIUS were keenly opposed by certain monks at *Constantinople*, who maintained that the son of MARY was *God incarnate*, and excited the zeal and fury of the populace to maintain this doctrine against NESTORIUS. Notwithstanding all this, the discourses of the latter were extremely well received in many places, and had the majority on their side. The Egyptian monks had no sooner perused them, than they were persuaded, by the weight of the arguments they contained, to embrace the opinions of NESTORIUS, and accordingly ceased to call the Blessed Virgin the *mother of God*.

VII. The Prelate, who ruled the see of *Alexandria* at this time, was CYRIL, a man of a haughty, turbulent, and imperious temper, and painfully jealous of the rising power and authority of the bishop of *Constantinople*. As soon as this controversy came to his knowledge, he censured the Egyptian monks and NESTORIUS; and, finding the latter little disposed to submit to his censure, he proceeded to violent measures, took counsel with CELESTINE, bishop of *Rome*, whom

Nestorius
and Cyril
reciprocally
anathemat-
ized by
each other.

[m] See HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 2109. See also JOS. SIM. ASSEMANUS, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. 199.

C E N T. he had engaged on his side, assembled a council
 V. at *Alexandria*, A. D. 430, and hurled no less than
 PART II. twelve anathemas at the head of *NESTORIUS*. The
 thunderstruck prelate did not sink under this violent shock; but, seeing himself unjustly accused of derogating from the majesty of *CHRIST*, he retorted the same accusation upon his adversary, charged him with the Apollinarian heresy, with confounding the two natures in *CHRIST*, and loaded *CYRIL* with as many anathemas as he had received from him. This unhappy contest between two bishops of the first order proceeded rather from corrupt motives of jealousy and ambition, than from a sincere and disinterested zeal for the truth, and was the source of evils and calamities without number.

The Council
 of *Ephesus*.

VIII. When the spirits were so exasperated on both sides, by reciprocal excommunications and polemic writings, that there was no prospect of an amicable issue to this unintelligible controversy, *THEODOSIUS* the younger called a council at *Ephesus*, A. D. 431, which was the *third general council* in the annals of the church. In this council *CYRIL* presided, though he was the party concerned, and the avowed enemy of *NESTORIUS*; and he proposed examining and determining the matter in debate before *JOHN* of *Antioch* and the other eastern bishops arrived. *NESTORIUS* objected against this proceeding, as irregular and unjust; but, his remonstrances being without effect, he refused to comply with the summons which called him to appear before the council. *CYRIL*, on the other hand, pushing on matters with a lawless violence, *NESTORIUS* was judged without being heard; and, during the absence of a great number of those bishops who belonged to the council, he was compared with the traitor *JUDAS*, charged with blasphemy against the divine majesty, deprived of his episcopal dignity,
 and

and sent into exile, where he finished his days [n]. The transactions of this council will appear to the candid and equitable reader in the most unfavourable light, as full of low artifice, contrary to all the rules of justice, and even destitute of the least air of common decency. The doctrine, however, that was established in it concerning CHRIST, was that which has been always acknowledged and adopted by the majority of Christians, viz. "That CHRIST was *one divine person*, in whom *two natures* were most closely and intimately united, but without being "mixed or confounded together."

IX. NESTORIUS, among other accusations of less moment, was charged with dividing the nature of CHRIST into *two distinct persons*, and with having maintained, that the *divine nature* was superadded to the *human nature* of JESUS, after it was formed, and was no more than an auxiliary support to the *man* CHRIST, through the whole of his life. NESTORIUS denied this charge even to the last, and solemnly professed his entire disapprobation of this doctrine [o]. Nor indeed was

The judgment which the impartial will form concerning this controversy.

[n] Those that desire a more ample account of this council, may consult the *Variorum Patrum Epistolæ ad Concilium Ephesinam pertinentes*, published at Louvain in the year 1682, from some Vatican and other manuscripts, by CHRISTIAN LUPUS. NESTORIUS, in consequence of the sentence pronounced against him in this council, was first banished to *Petra in Arabia*, and afterwards to *Oasis*, a solitary place in the deserts of *Egypt*, where he died in the year 435. The accounts given of his tragical death by EVAGRIUS, in his *Ecl. Hist.* lib. i. cap. vii. and by THEODORUS the reader, *Hist. Ecl.* lib. ii. p. 565, are entirely fabulous. Dr. MOSHEIM's account of the time of NESTORIUS's death is perhaps unexact; for it appears, that NESTORIUS was at *Oasis*, when SOCRATES wrote, that is, A.D. 439. See *Socrat.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiv.

[o] See GARNIER's edition of the works of MARIUS MERCATOR, tom. ii. p. 286. See also the fragments of those letters which NESTORIUS wrote some time before his death,

CENT. V. PART II. was this opinion ever proposed by him in any of his writings, but was only charged upon him by his iniquitous adversaries, as a consequence drawn from some incautious and ambiguous terms he used, and particularly from his refusing to call the virgin MARY, the *mother of God* [p]. Hence many, nay, the greatest part of writers both ancient and modern, after a thorough examination of this matter, have positively concluded that the opinions of NESTORIUS, and of the council which condemned them, were the same in effect; that their difference was in words only, and that the whole blame of this unhappy controversy was to be charged upon the turbulent spirit of CYRIL, and his aversion to NESTORIUS [q].

This judgment may be just upon the whole; but it is however true, that NESTORIUS committed two faults in the course of this controversy. The first was his giving offence to many Christians by

which are to be found in JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 40, 41.

[p] It is remarkable, that CYRIL would not hear the explanations which NESTORIUS offered to give of his doctrine. Nay, the latter offered to grant the title of *Mother of God* to the Virgin MARY, provided that nothing else was thereby meant, but that *the man born of her was united to the divinity*. See *Socrat.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiv.

[q] LUTHER was the first of the modern writers who thought thus. And he inveighed against CYRIL, with the greatest bitterness, in his book *De conciliis*, tom. viii. opp. Altenb. p. 265, 266, 273. See also BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the articles NESTORIUS and RODON. CHRIST. AUGUST. SALIG, *De Eutychianismo ante Eutychen*, p. 200. OTTO FRIED. SCHUTZIUS, *De vita Chæticæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxix. p. 190, 191. JO. VOIGT. *Biblioth. Historiæ Hæresiológicæ*, tom. i. part III. p. 457. PAUL. ERNEST. JABLONSKY, *Exerc. de Nestorianismo*, published at Berlin, A. D. 1720. *Thesaur. Epistolic. Cruzianus*, tom. i. p. 184. tom. iii. p. 175. *La Vie de la Croze*, par JORDAN, p. 231, and many others. As to the faults that have been laid to the charge of NESTORIUS, they are collected by ASSEMAN, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. 210.

abrogating

abrogating a trite and innocent term [r]; and the second, his presumptuously attempting to explain, by uncouth comparisons and improper expressions, a mystery which infinitely surpasses the extent of our imperfect reason. If to these defects we add the despotic spirit and the excessive warmth of this persecuted prelate, it will be difficult to decide who is most to be blamed, as the principal fomentor of this violent contest, CYRIL or NESTORIUS [s].

X. The council of *Ephesus*, instead of healing these divisions, did but inflame them more and more, and almost destroyed all hope of restoring concord and tranquillity in the church. JOHN of *Antioch* and the other eastern bishops, for whose arrival CYRIL had refused to wait, met at *Ephesus*, and pronounced against him and MEMNON, the bishop of that city, who was his creature, as severe a sentence as they had thundered against NESTORIUS. Hence arose a new and obstinate dissension between CYRIL and the Orientals, with JOHN the bishop of *Antioch* at their head. This flame was indeed somewhat abated, A. D. 433, after CYRIL had received the *articles of faith* drawn up by JOHN, and abandoned certain phrases and

CENT.
V.
PART II.

The progress of Nestorianism after the council of *Ephesus*.

☞ [r] The title of *Mother of God*, applied to the Virgin MARY, is not perhaps so innocent as Dr. MOSHEIM takes it to be. To the judicious and learned it can present no idea at all, and to the ignorant and unwary it may present the most absurd and monstrous notions. The invention and use of such mysterious terms, as have no place in scripture, are undoubtedly pernicious to true religion.

☞ [s] There is no difficulty at all in deciding this question. NESTORIUS, though possessed of an arrogant and persecuting spirit in general, yet does not seem to deserve, in this particular case, the reproaches that are due to CYRIL. ANASTASIUS, and not NESTORIUS, was the first who kindled the flame; and NESTORIUS was the suffering and persecuted party from the beginning of the controversy to his death. His offers of accommodation were refused; his explanations were not read; his submission was rejected, and he was condemned unheard.

C E N T. V. PART II. expressions, of which the litigious might make a pernicious use. But the commotions, which arose from this fatal controversy, were more durable in the east [1]. Nothing could oppose the progress of Nestorianism in those parts. The discipline and friends of the persecuted prelate carried his doctrine through all the Oriental provinces, and erected every where congregations which professed an invincible opposition to the decrees of the council of *Ephesus*. The Persians, among others, opposed CYRIL in the most vigorous manner, maintained that NESTORIUS had been unjustly condemned at *Ephesus*, and charged CYRIL with removing that distinction which subsists between the *two natures* in CHRIST. But nothing tended so much to propagate with rapidity the doctrine of NESTORIUS, as its being received in the famous school which had for a long time flourished at *Edeffa*. For the doctors of this renowned academy not only instructed the youth in the Nestorian tenets, but translated from the Greek into the Syriac language the books of NESTORIUS, of his master THEODORUS of *Mopsuestia*, and the writings also of DIODORUS of *Tarsus*, and spread them abroad throughout *Affyria* and *Persia* [u].

Barsumas, a
zealous pro-
moter of
Nestorian-
ism.

XI. Of all the promoters of the NESTORIAN cause, there was none to whom it has such weighty obligations as to the famous BARSUMAS, who was ejected out of his place, in the school of *Edeffa*, and created bishop of *Nisibis*, A. D. 435. This zealous prelate laboured with incredible assiduity

[1] See CHRIST. AUG. SALIG, *De Eutyebianismo ante Eutyebem*, p. 243.

[u] See JOS. SIMON. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 351. tom. iii. part II. p. 69. This learned author may be advantageously used to correct what EUSEBIUS RENAUD. has said (in the second tome of his *Liturgie Orientales*, p. 99.) concerning the first rise of the Nestorian doctrine in the eastern provinces. See also the *Ecclesiastical History* of THEODORUS the reader, book ii. p. 558.

and dexterity, from the year 440 to 485, to procure, for the Nestorians, a solid and permanent settlement in *Persia*; and he was vigorously seconded in this undertaking by MAANES bishop of *Ardaschira*. So remarkable was the success which crowned the labours of BARSUMAS, that his fame extended throughout the east; and the Nestorians, which still remain in *Chaldæa*, *Persia*, *Assyria*, and the adjacent countries, consider him alone, and not without reason, as their parent and founder. This indefatigable ecclesiastic not only persuaded PHEROZES, the *Persian* monarch, to expel out of his dominions such Christians as had adopted the opinions of the Greeks, and to admit the Nestorians in their place, but he even engaged him to put the latter in possession of the principal seat of ecclesiastical authority in *Persia*, the see of *Seleucia*, which the Patriarch or Catholic of the Nestorians has always filled even down to our time [w]. The zeal and activity of BARSUMAS did not end here: he erected a famous school at *Nisibis*, from whence issued those Nestorian doctors, who, in this and the following century, spread abroad their tenets through *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *India*, *Tartary*, and *China* [x].

XII. The Nestorians, before their affairs were thus happily settled, had been divided among themselves with respect to the method of explain-

The divisions of the Nestorians case.

[w] The bishop of *Seleucia* was, by the twenty-third canon of the council of *Nice*, honoured with peculiar marks of distinction, and among others with the title of Catholic. He was invested with the power of ordaining archbishops (a privilege which belonged to the patriarchs alone), exalted above all the Grecian bishops, honoured as a patriarch, and in the œcumenical councils was the sixth in rank after the bishop of *Jerusalem*. See *Acta Concilii Nicæni Arab. ALPHONS. PISAN. lib. iii. can. xxiii. xxxiv.*

[x] See, for an ample account of this matter, JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 77.*

ing

CENT. V. ing their doctrine. Some maintained, that the
PART II. manner in which the two natures were united in
CHRIST, was absolutely unknown: others, that
the union of the divine nature with the man JESUS
was only an union of *will, operation, and dignity*[y].
This dissension, however, entirely ceased when
the Nestorians were gathered together into one
religious community, and lived in tranquillity
under their own ecclesiastical government and
laws. Their doctrine, as it was then determined
in several councils assembled at *Seleucia*, amounts
to what follows: "That in the Saviour of the
" world there were *two persons*, or ὑποστάσεις; of
" which the one was *divine*, even the eternal
" word; and the other, which was *human*, was
" the man JESUS; that these two persons had
" only one *aspect* [z]; that the union between
" the son of God and the son of man was formed
" in the moment of the Virgin's conception, and
" was never to be dissolved; that it was not,
" however, an union of nature or of person,
" but only of will and affection; that CHRIST
" was, therefore, to be carefully distinguished
" from GOD, who dwelt in him as in his temple;
" and that MARY was to be called the *mother of*
" CHRIST, and not the *mother of God*."

The abettors of this doctrine hold NESTORIUS
in the highest veneration, as a man of singular and
eminent sanctity, and worthy to be had in perpet-
tual remembrance: but they maintain, at the
same time, that the doctrine he taught was much

[y] LEONTIUS BYZANT. *adversus Nestorian. et Eutychian.*
p. 537. tom. i. *Lectio. Antiquar.* HENR. CANISI. JAC.
BASNAG. *Prolegomen. ad Canisium*, tom. i. cap. ii. p. 19.

[z] This is the only way I know of translating the word
barsofa, which was the term used by NESTORIUS, and which
the Greeks render by the term ὑπόστασις. The word *person*
would have done better in this unintelligible phrase, had it
not been used immediately before in a different sense from that
which NESTORIUS would convey by the obscure term *aspect*.

older than himself, and had been handed down from the earliest times of the Christian church; and for this reason they absolutely refused the title of Nestorians. And, indeed, if we examine the matter attentively, we shall find that BARSUMAS and his followers, instead of teaching their disciples precisely the doctrine of NESTORIUS, rather polished and improved his uncouth system to their own taste, and added to it several tenets of which the good man never dreamt.

XIII. A violent aversion to the Nestorian errors led many into the opposite extreme. This was the case with the famous EUTYCHES, abbot of a certain convent of monks at *Constantinople*, and founder of a sect, which was in direct opposition to that of NESTORIUS, yet equally prejudicial to the interests of the Christian church, by the pestilential discords and animosities it produced. The opinions of this new faction shot like lightning through the east: and it acquired such strength in its progress, as to create much uneasiness both to the Greeks and Nestorians, whose most vigorous efforts were not sufficient to prevent its rising to a high degree of credit and splendor. EUTYCHES began these troubles A. D. 448, when he was far advanced in years; and to exert his utmost force and vehemence in opposing the progress of the Nestorian doctrine, he expressed his sentiments concerning the person of CHRIST, in the very terms which the Egyptians made use of for that purpose, and taught, that *in CHRIST there was but one nature, viz. that of the incarnate word* [a]. Hence he was thought to deny

CENT.
V.
PART II.

The Euty-
chian sect.

[a] That CYRIL expressed himself in this manner, and appealed, for his justification in so doing, to the authority of ATHANASIUS, is evident beyond all possibility of contradiction. But it is uncertain whether or no this manner of expression was adopted by ATHANASIUS, since many are of opinion,

C E N T. deny the existence of the human nature in CHRIST,
 V. and was accul'd of this, by EUSEBIUS of *Dorylaeum*,
 P A R T II. in the council that was assembled by FLAVIANUS
 at *Constantinople*, probably thys same year. By a
 decree of this council, he was ordered to renounce
 the abovementioned opinion, which he obstinately
 refused to do, and was, on this account, ex-
 communicated and deposed; little disposed, how-
 ever, to acquiesce in this sentence, he appealed
 to the decision of a general council.

The coun-
 cil, which
 was called
Conventus
Laiconum.

XIV. In consequence of this appeal, the em-
 peror THEODOSIUS assembled an *œcumenical council*
 at *Ephesus*, A. D. 449, at the head of which he
 placed DIOSCORUS, bishop of *Alexandria*, the
 successor of CYRIL, the faithful imitator of his
 arrogance and fury, and a declared enemy to the
 bishop of *Constantinople*. Accordingly, by the
 influence and caballing of this turbulent man,
 matters were carried on in this council with the
 same want of equity and decency that had disho-
 noured a former Ephesian council, and charac-
 terised the proceedings of CYRIL against NESTO-
 RIUS. For DIOSCORUS, in whose church a doctrine
 almost the same with that of the Eutychians was
 constantly taught, confounded matters with such
 artifice and dexterity, that the doctrine of *one in-*
caruate nature triumphed, and EUTYCHES was ac-
 quitted of the charge, of error that had been
 brought against him. FLAVIANUS, on the other

nion, that the Book, in which it is found, has been falsely
 attributed to him. See MICH. LE QUIEN, *Dissert.* ii. in *De-*
masenium, p. 31. CHRIST. AUG. SALIG, *De Eutychianismo*
ante Eutichen, p. 112. It appears, by what we read in the
Biblioth. Oriental. &c. of ASSEMAN. tom. i. p. 219, that the
 Syrians expressed themselves in this manner before EUTY-
 CHES, though without designing thereby to broach any new
 doctrine, but rather without well knowing what they said.
 We stand yet in need of a solid and accurate history of the
 Eutychian troubles; notwithstanding the labours of the
 learned SALIG upon that subject.

hand,

hand, was, by the order of this unrighteous council, publicly scourged in the most barbarous manner, and banished to *Epipas*, a city of *Lydia*, where soon after he ended his days [b]. The Greeks called this Ephesian council, a band, or *assembly of robbers*, *σύνδοκον ληστρον*, to signify that every thing was carried in it by fraud or violence [c]. And many councils, indeed, both in this and the following ages, are equally intitled to the same dishonourable appellation.

XV. The face of affairs soon changed, and assumed an aspect utterly unfavourable to the party whom the Ephesian council had rendered triumphant. FLAVIANUS and his followers not only engaged LEO the GREAT, bishop of *Rome*, in their interests (for the Roman Pontif was the ordinary refuge of the oppressed and conquered party in this century), but also remonstrated to the emperor, that a matter of such an arduous and important nature required, in order to its decision, a council composed out of the church universal. LEO seconded this latter request, demanded of THEODOSIUS a general council, which no entreaties could persuade this emperor to grant. Upon his death, however, his successor MARCIAN consented to LEO's demand, and called, in the year 451, the council of *Chalcedon* [d], which is reckoned the *fourth general*, or *œcumenical*

The council
of *Chalcedon*.

[b] See the *Councils* Jo. HARDUINI, tom. i. p. 82. LIBERATI *Breviarium*, cap. xii. p. 76. LEONIS M. *Epist.* xciii. p. 625. NICEPHORI *Hist. Ecclesiastic.* lib. xiv. cap. lxviii. p. 550, &c.

[c] Though FLAVIANUS died soon after the council of *Ephesus*, of the bruises he had received from DIOSCORUS, and the other bishops of his party in that horrid assembly, yet, before his death, he had appealed to LEO; and this appeal, pursued by LEO, occasioned the council, in which EUTYCHES was condemned, and the bloody DIOSCORUS deposed.

[d] This council was, by the emperor's summons, first assembled at *Nice*, but afterwards removed to *Chalcedon*; that the

CENT.
V.
PART II.

œcumenical council. The legates of LEO, who, in his famous letter to FLAVIANUS, had already condemned the Eutychian doctrine, presided in this grand and crowded assembly. DIOSCORUS was condemned, deposed, and banished into *Paphlagonia*, the acts of the council of *Ephesus* were annulled, the *epistle* of LEO received as a rule of faith [e]; EUTYCHES, who had been already sent into banishment, and deprived of his sacerdotal dignity by the emperor, was now condemned, though absent; and the following doctrine, which is at this time almost generally received, was inculcated upon CHRISTIANS as the object of faith, viz. "That in CHRIST *two distinct natures* were "united in *one person*, and that without any "change, mixture, or confusion."

Warm contests succeeded the council of *Chalcedon*.

XVI. The remedy applied by this council, to heal the wounds of a torn and divided church, proved really worse than the disease. For a great number of Oriental and Egyptian doctors, though of various characters and different opinions in other respects, united in opposing, with the utmost vehemence, the council of *Chalcedon* and the *epistle* of LEO, which it had adopted as a rule of faith, and were unanimous in maintaining an *unity of nature*, as well as of *person*, in JESUS CHRIST. Hence arose deplorable discords and civil wars, whose fury and barbarity were carried

the emperor, who, on account of the irruption of the Huns into *Illyricum*, was unwilling to go far from *Constantinople*, might assist at it in person.

✎ [e] This was the Letter which LEO had written to FLAVIANUS, after having been informed by him of what had passed in the council of *Constantinople*. In this epistle, LEO approves of the decisions of that council, declares the doctrine of EUTYCHES heretical and impious, explains, with great appearance of perspicuity, the doctrine of the Catholic church upon this perplexed subject; so that this letter was esteemed a masterpiece both of logic and eloquence, and was constantly read, during the *Advent*, in the western churches.

to the most excessive and incredible lengths. Upon the death of the emperor MARCIAN, the populace assembled tumultuously in *Egypt*, massacred PROTERIUS, the successor of DIOSCORUS, and substituted in his place TIMOTHEUS ÆLURUS, who was a zealous defender of the Eutychian doctrine of *one incarnate nature* in CHRIST. This latter, indeed, was deposed and banished by the emperor LEO; but, upon his death, was restored by BASILICUS both to his liberty and episcopal dignity. After the death of ÆLURUS, the defenders of the council of *Chalcedon* chose in his place TIMOTHEUS, surnamed SALOPHACIOLUS, while the partisans of the Eutychian doctrine of the *one nature*, elected schismatically PETER MOGGUS to the same dignity. An edict of the emperor ZENO obliged the latter to yield. The triumph, however, of the Chalcedonians, on this occasion, was but transitory; for, upon the death of TIMOTHEUS, JOHN TALAIA, whom they had chosen in his place, was removed by the same emperor [f]; and MOGGUS, or MONGUS, by an imperial edict, and the favour of ACACIUS, bishop of *Constantinople*, was, in the year 482, raised to the see of *Alexandria*.

XVII. The abbot BARSUMAS (whom the reader must be careful not to confound with BARSUMAS of *Nisibis*, the famous promoter of the Nestorian doctrines) having been condemned by the council of *Chalcedon* [g], brought the Eutychian opinions into *Syria*, and, by the ministry of his dis-

Contests in
Syria and
Armenia.

[f] See LIBERATI *Breviarium*, cap. xvi, xvii, xviii. EVAGR. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. viii. lib. iii. cap. iii. LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 410.

[g] The BARSUMAS, here mentioned, was he who assisted the bishop of *Alexandria* (DIOSCORUS) and the soldiers, in beating FLAVIANUS to death in the council of *Ephesus*, and, to shun whose fury, the Orthodox bishops were forced to creep into holes, and hide themselves under benches, in that *pious assembly*.

C E N T.
V.
PART II.

ciple SAMUEL, spread them amongst the Armenians about the year 460. This doctrine, however, as it was commonly explained, had something so harsh and shocking in it, that the Syrians were easily engaged to abandon it by the exhortations of XENAIAS, otherwise called PHILOXENUS, bishop of *Hierapolis*, and the famous PETER FULLO. These doctors rejected the opinion, attributed to EUTYCHES, that *the human nature of CHRIST was absorbed by the divine* [b], and modified matters so as to form the following hypothesis: "That in the son of God there was *one nature*, which, notwithstanding its *unity*, was *double and compounded*." This notion was not less repugnant to the decisions of the council of *Chalcedon* than the Eutychian doctrine, and was therefore steadfastly opposed by those who acknowledged the authority of that council [i].

The troubles excited by Peter the Fuller.

XVIII. PETER, surnamed FULLO, from the trade of a fuller, which he exercised in his monastic state, had usurped the see of *Antioch*, and, after having been several times deposed and condemned on account of the bitterness of his opposition to the council of *Chalcedon*, was fixed in it, at last, A. D. 482, by the authority of the emperor ZENO, and the favour of ACACIUS, bishop of *Constantinople* [k]. This troublesome and con-

[b] EUTYCHES never affirmed what is here attributed to him; he maintained simply, that the *two natures*, which existed in CHRIST before his incarnation, became *one* after it by the *hypostatical union*. This miserable dispute about words was nourished by the contending parties having no clear ideas of the terms *person* and *nature*; as also by an invincible ignorance of the subject in dispute.

[i] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vat.* tom. ii. p. 1—10. See also the *Dissertation* of this author, *De Monophysitism*, which is prefixed to this volume.

[k] VALESII *Dissertatio de PET. FULLONE, et de Synodis adversus eum collectis*, which is added to the third volume of the *Scriptor. Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 173.

tentious

tentious man excited new discords in the church, and seemed ambitious of forming a new sect under the name of Theopaschites [1]; for to the words, *O God most holy*, &c. in the famous hymn which the Greeks called *Trisagium*, he ordered the following phrase to be added in the eastern churches, *who hast suffered for us upon the cross*. His design in this was manifestly to raise a new sect, and also to fix more deeply, in the minds of the people, the doctrine of *one nature in CHRIST*, to which he was zealously attached. His adversaries, and especially FELIX the Roman pontif, interpreted this addition to the hymn abovementioned in a quite different manner, and charged him with maintaining, that all the three persons of the Godhead were crucified: and hence those who approved of his addition were called Theopaschites. The consequence of this dispute was, that the western Christians rejected the addition inserted by FULIO, which they judged relative to the whole trinity; while the Orientals used it constantly after this period, and that without giving the least offence, because they applied it to CHRIST alone [m].

O E N T.
V.
PART II.

XIX. To put an end to this controversy, which had produced the most unhappy divisions both in church and state, the emperor ZENO, by the advice of ACACIUS, bishop of *Constantinople*, published, A. D. 482, the famous *Henoticon*, or *Decree of union*, which was designed to reconcile the contending parties. This decree repeated and confirmed all that had been enacted in the councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*,

The Henoticon of Zeno.

✠ [1] This word expresses the enormous error of those frantic doctors, who imagined that the Godhead suffered in and with CHRIST.

[m] See NORRIS, *Lib. de uno ex Trinitate carne passo*, tom. iii. opp. *Diff.* i. cap. iii. p. 782. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 518. tom. ii. p. 36. 180.

C E N T. against the Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians,
 V. without making any particular mention of the
 P A R T II. council of *Chalcedon* [n]. For ACACIUS had per-
 suaded the emperor, that the present opposition
 was not carried on against the decrees that had
 passed in the council of *Chalcedon*, but against the
 council itself; with respect to which, therefore,
 an entire silence was undoubtedly prudent in a
 proposal, which, instead of reviving, was designed
 to put an end to all disputes, and to reconcile the
 most jarring principles.

In the mean time MONGUS and FULLO, who
 filled the sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and head-
 ed the sect of the Monophysites [o], subscribed
 this *Decree of union*, which was also approved by
 ACACIUS of *Constantinople*, and by all those of the
 two contending parties who were at all remark-
 able for their candour and moderation. But there
 were on all sides violent and obstinate bigots,
 who opposed, with vigour, these pacific measures,
 and complained of the *Henoticon* as injurious to
 the honour and authority of the most holy coun-
 cil of *Chalcedon* [p]. Hence arose new contests
 and new divisions not less deplorable than those
 which the *Decree of union* was designed to sup-
 press.

Produces
 new con-
 tests among
 the Euty-
 chians.

XX. A considerable body of the Monophy-
 sites, or Eutychians, looked upon the conduct of
 MONGUS, who had subscribed the *decree*, as highly
 criminal, and consequently formed themselves
 into a new faction, under the title of *Acephal*,
 i. e. *headless*, because, by the submission of Mon-

[n] EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xiv. LIBERATI
Breviarium Hist. cap. xviii.

[o] This word expresses the doctrine of those who be-
 lieved, that in CHRIST there was but *one nature*, and is, in
 most respects, the same with the term *Eutychians*.

[p] See FACUNDUS HERMIAN, *Defens. trium Capitulum*.
 lib. xii. cap. iv.

GUS, they had been deprived of their chief [q]. This sect was afterwards divided into three others, who were called Anthropomorphites, Barfanu-
phites, and Eſaianiſts; and theſe again, in the following century, were the unhappy occaſion of new factions, of which the antient writers make frequent mention [r]. It is however neceſſary to obſerve here, for the information of thoſe, whoſe curioſity intereſts them in inquiries of this nature, that theſe ſubdiviſions of the Eutychian ſect are not to be adopted with too much facility. Some of them are entirely fictitious; others are characteriſed by a nominal, and not by a real difference; the diviſion is in *words*, and not in *things*; while a third ſort are diſtinguiſhed, not by their peculiar doctrines, but by certain rites and inſtitutions, and matters of a merely circumſtantial nature. Be that as it will, theſe numerous branches of the Eutychian faction did not flouriſh long; they declined gradually in the following century; and the influence and authority of the famous BARADÆUS contributed principally to their total extinction by the union he eſtabliſhed among the numbers of that ſect.

XXI. The Roman pontif, FELIX II. having aſſembled an Italian council, compoſed of ſixty-ſeven biſhops, condemned, depoſed, and cut off, from the communion of the church, ACACIUS biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, as a perfidious enemy to the truth. Several articles were alleged againſt ACACIUS, to furniſh a pretext for the ſeverity of this ſentence; ſuch as his attachment to the Mo-

And alſo among the partisans of the council of Chalcedon.

[q] EVAGR. *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xiii. LEONTIUS BYZANT. *De ſectis*, tom. i. *Lection. Antiq.* CANISII, p. 537. TIMOTH. in COTELERII *Monument. Eccleſiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 409.

[r] Theſe ſects are enumerated by BASNAGE, in his *Prolegom. ad* HEN. CANISII *Lection. Antiqu.* cap. iii. and by ASSEMAN, in his *Difſertatio de Monophyſitis*, p. 7.

C E N T. nophysites, and their leaders MONGUS and FULLO,
 V. the contempt with which he treated the council
 PART II. of *Chalcedon*, and other accusations of a like nature. But the true reasons of these proceedings, and of the irreconcilable hatred which the Roman pontiffs indulged against ACACIUS, were his denying the supremacy of the bishop of *Rome*, his opposing it throughout the whole course of his ministry [s], and his ambitious efforts to enlarge beyond all bounds the authority and prerogatives of the see of *Constantinople*. The Greeks, however, defended the character and memory of their bishop against all the aspersions which were cast upon him by the Romans. Hence arose a new schism, and new contests, which were carried on with great violence until the following century, when the obstinacy and perseverance of the Latins triumphed over the opposition of the oriental Christians, and brought about an agreement, in consequence of which, the names of ACACIUS and FULLO were struck out of the dip-

✠ [s] This again is one of the periods of ecclesiastical history, in which we find a multitude of events, which are so many proofs how far the supremacy of the bishop of *Rome* was from being universally acknowledged. Pope FELIX II. deposes and excommunicates ACACIUS the patriarch of *Constantinople*, who not only receives this sentence with contempt, but, in his turn, anathematizes and excommunicates the Pope and orders his name to be struck out of the *diptychs*. This conduct of ACACIUS is approved by the emperor, the church of *Constantinople*, by almost all the eastern bishops, nay, by even ANDREAS of *Thessalonica*, who was at that time the pope's vicar for *East Illyricum*. This was the occasion of that general schism, which continued for the space of twenty-five years, between the eastern and western churches. It is here worthy of observation, that the eastern bishops did not adhere to the cause of ACACIUS from any other principle, as appears from the most authentic records of those times, than a persuasion of the illegality of his excommunication by the Roman pontiff, who, in their judgment, had not a right to depose the first bishop of the east, without the consent of a general council.

tychs,

tychs, or sacred registers, and thus branded with perpetual infamy [1].

XXII. These deplorable dissensions and contests had, for their object, a matter of the smallest importance. EUTYCHES was generally supposed to have maintained, "That the *divine nature* of CHRIST had absorbed the *human*, and that, consequently, in him there was but *one nature*, viz. the *divine*;" but the truth of this supposition is as yet destitute of sufficient evidence. However that may have been, this opinion, as also EUTYCHES its pretended author, were rejected and condemned by those who opposed the council of *Chalcedon*, and principally indeed by XENAIAS and FULLO, who are, therefore, improperly called Eutychians, and belong rather to the class of the Monophysites. They, who assumed this latter title, held, "That the *divine and human nature* of CHRIST were so united, as to form only *one nature*, yet, without any *change, confusion, or mixture* of the two natures:" and that this caution might be carefully observed, and their meaning be well understood, they frequently expressed themselves thus: "In CHRIST there is one nature; but that nature is two-fold and compounded [2]." They disowned all relation and attachment to EUTYCHES; but regarded, with the highest veneration, DIOSCORUS, BARSUMAS, XENAIAS, and FULLO, as the pillars of their sect; and rejected not only the *Epistle* of LEO, but also

The doctrines of Eutyches and the Monophysites.

[1] HEN. VALESIIUS, *Dissert. de synodis Roman. in quibus damnatus est Acacius, ad calcem*, tom. iii. *Scriptor. Eccl.* p. 179, BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 301, 380, 381. BAYLE'S *Dictionary* in English, at the article ACACIUS. DAVID BLONDEL, *De la Primauté dans l'Eglise*, p. 279. *Acta sanctorum*, tom. iii. Februar. p. 502.

[2] See the passages drawn from the writings of the Monophysites by the most learned, and, frequently, impartial ASSEMAN, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.

CENT. the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon*. The
PART II. opinion of the^{V.} Monophysites, if we judge of it
 by the terms in which it is here delivered, does
 not seem to differ in reality, but only in the man-
 ner of expression, from that which was establish-
 ed by the council of *Chalcedon* [w]. But, if we
 attend carefully to the Metaphysical arguments
 and subtleties which the former employ to confirm
 their doctrine[x], we shall, perhaps, be induced
 to think that the controversy between the Mono-
 physites and Chalcedonians is not merely a dispute
 about words.

The Pe-
 lagian con-
 troversy.

XXIII. A new controversy arose in the church
 during this century, and its pestilential effects
 extended themselves through the following ages.
 The authors of it were PELAGIUS and CÆLESTIUS,
 both monks; the former a *Briton*; and the latter
 a native of *Ireland* [y]: they lived at *Rome* in the
 greatest reputation, and were universally esteemed
 on account of their extraordinary piety and vir-
 tue[z]. These monks looked upon the doctrines,
 which

[w] Many learned men treat this controversy as a mere dis-
 pute about words. GRIGORY ABULPHARIUS, himself a
 Monophysite, and the most learned of the sect, declares this
 as his opinion. *ASSEMANN. Biblioth. Orient. &c. tom. ii. p. 291.*
 Add to this the *Biblioth. Italique*, tom. xvii. p. 285. LA
 CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23. and *Histoire*
du Christianisme d'Ethiopia, p. 14. ASSEMANN, though a Ro-
 man by birth and by religion, seems, in a good measure, to
 have adopted the same way of thinking, as appears by p. 297.
 of the tome quoted above.

[x] See the subtle argumentation of ABULPHARIUS, in
 the *Biblioth. Orient.* of ASSEMANN, tom. ii. p. 288.

[y] Nothing very certain can be advanced with respect
 to the native country of CÆLESTIUS, which some say was *Scot-*
land, and others *Canjania in Italy*. We know, however, that
 he was descended of an illustrious family; and that, after
 having applied himself to the study of the law for some time,
 he retired from the world, and embraced the monastic life.
 See GENNAU. *De Script. Ecclesiast.* cap. xlv.

[z] The learned and furious JEROM, who never once
 thought of doing common justice to those who had the mis-
 fortune

which were commonly received, "*Concerning the original corruption of human nature, and the necessity of divine grace to enlighten the understanding, and purify the heart,* as prejudicial to the progress of holiness and virtue, and tending to lull mankind in a presumptuous and fatal security. They maintained, that these doctrines were as false as they were pernicious; that the sins of our *first parents* were *imputed* to them alone, and not to their *posterity*; that we derive no *corruption* from their fall, but are born as pure and unspotted as ADAM came out of the forming hand of his creator; that mankind, therefore, are capable of repentance and amendment; and of arriving to the highest degrees of piety and virtue by the use of their natural faculties and powers; that, indeed, *external grace* is necessary to excite their endeavours, but that they have no need of the *internal* succours of the divine spirit." These notions, and some others intimately connected with them [a], were propagated at *Rome*, though in a private manner, by the two monks already mentioned, who, returning from that city, A.D. 410, upon the approach of the Goths, went first into *Sicily*, and afterwards into *Africa*, where they published their

fortune to differ from him in opinion, accused PELAGIUS of gluttony and intemperance, after he had heard of his errors, though he had admired him before for his exemplary virtue. AUGUSTIN, more candid and honest, bears impartial testimony to the truth; and even while he writes against this heretic, acknowledges that he had made great progress in virtue and piety, that his life was chaste and his manners blameless; and this, indeed, is the truth of the matter.

☞ [a] The doctrines, that were more immediately connected with the main principles of PELAGIUS, were, that *infant baptism* was not a *sign* or *seal* of the *remission* of *sins*, but a *mark* of admission to the *kingdom* of *heaven*, which was only open to the pure in heart; that *good works* were *meritorious*, and the only conditions of salvation, with many others too tedious to mention.

CENT. V. doctrine with more freedom. From *Africa* PELAGIUS passed into *Palestine*, while CÆLESTIUS remained at *Carthage* with a view to preferment, desiring to be admitted among the presbyters of that city. But the discovery of his opinions having blasted his hopes, and his errors being condemned in a council held at *Carthage* A. D. 412, he departed from that city, and went into the east. It was from this time that AUGUSTIN, the famous bishop of *Hippo*, began to attack the tenets of PELAGIUS and CÆLESTIUS in his learned and eloquent writings; and to him, indeed, is principally due the glory of having suppressed this sect in its very birth [b].

The progress of this controversy

XXIV. Things went more smoothly with PELAGIUS in the east, where he enjoyed the protection and favour of JOHN, bishop of *Jerusalem*, whose attachment to the sentiments of ORIGEN led him naturally to countenance those of PELAGIUS, on account of the conformity that there seemed to be between these two systems. Under the shadow of this powerful protection, PELAGIUS made a public profession of his opinions, and formed disciples in several places. And though in the year 415, he was accused by OROSIUS, a Spanish presbyter, whom AUGUSTIN had sent into *Palestine* for that purpose, before an Assembly of bishops met at *Jerusalem*, yet he was dismissed without the least censure; and not only

[b] The Pelagian controversy has been historically treated by many learned writers, such as USHER, in his *Antiquit. Eccles. Britannicæ*; LAET; GER. VOSSIUS; NORIS; GARNIER, in his *Supplement Oper. Theodoretii*; JANSENIUS in *Augustino*; and others. LONGUEVAL also, a French Jesuit, wrote *A History of the Pelagians*. See the Preface to the ninth vol. of his *Historia Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*, p. 4. After all, it must be confessed, that of all these learned writers none have exhausted this interesting subject, or treated it with a sufficient degree of impartiality.

so, but was soon after fully acquitted of all errors by the council of *Diospolis* [c].

CENT.
V.
PART II.

This controversy was brought to *Rome*, and referred by CÆLESTIUS and PELAGIUS to the decision of ZOSIMUS [d], who was raised to the Pontificate A. D. 417. The new Pontif, gained over by the ambiguous and seemingly orthodox *confession of faith*, that CÆLESTIUS, who was now at *Rome*, had artfully drawn up, and also by the letters and protestations of PELAGIUS, pronounced in favour of these monks, declared them sound in the faith, and unjustly persecuted by their adversaries. The African bishops, with AUGUSTIN at their head, little affected with this declaration, continued obstinately to maintain the judgment they had pronounced in this matter, and to strengthen it by their exhortations, their letters, and their writings. ZOSIMUS yielded to the perseverance of the Africans, changed his mind, and condemned, with the utmost severity, PELAGIUS and CÆLESTIUS, whom he had honoured with his approbation, and covered with his protection. This was followed by a train of evils, which pursued these two monks without interruption. They were condemned by that same Ephesian council which had launched its thunder at the head of NESTORIUS: in short, the Gauls, Britons, and

[c] See DANIEL, *Histoire du Concile de Diospolis*, which is to be found in the *Opuscula* of that eloquent and learned Jesuit, published at Paris in the year 1724, in three volumes quarto. *Diospolis* was a city of *Palestine*, known in scripture by the name of *Lydda*; and the bishop, who presided in this council, was EULOGIUS of *Cæsarea*, Metropolitan of *Palestine*.

[d] To preserve the thread of the history here, and prevent the reader's being surprised to find PELAGIUS and CÆLESTIUS appealing to *Rome* after having been acquitted at *Diospolis*, it is necessary to observe, that, after the council of *Diospolis*, these two monks were condemned anew, A.D. 416, by the African bishops assembled at *Carthage*, and those of *Numidia* assembled at *Milevum*; upon which they appealed to *Rome*.

Africans,

C E N T.
V.
P A R T II.

The pre-
destinari-
ans.

Africans, by their councils, and the emperors, by their edicts and penal laws, demolished this sect in its infancy, and suppressed it entirely before it had acquired any tolerable degree of vigour or consistence [e].

XXV. The unhappy disputes about the opinions of PELAGIUS occasioned, as usually happens, other controversies equally prejudicial to the peace of the church, and the interests of true Christianity. In the course of this dispute, AUGUSTIN had delivered his opinion, *Concerning the necessity of divine grace in order to our salvation, and the decrees of God with respect to the future conditions of men*, without being always consistent with himself, or intelligible to others. Hence certain monks of *Adrumetum*, and others, were led into a notion, "That God not only predestinated the wicked to eternal punishment, but also to the guilt and transgression for which they are punished; and that thus both the good and bad actions of all men were determined from eternity by a divine decree, and fixed by an invincible necessity." Those who embraced this opinion, were called Predestinarians. AUGUSTIN used his utmost influence and authority to prevent the spreading of this doctrine, and explained his true sentiments with more perspicuity, that it might not be attributed to him. His efforts were seconded by the councils of *Arles* and *Lions*, in which the doctrine in question was pub-

[e] See GERARD. JO. VOSSIUS, his *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. i. cap. lv. p. 130.; as also the learned observations that have been made upon this controversy, in the *Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. v. p. 74. The writers on both sides are mentioned by JO. FRANC. BUDDEUS, in his *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. ii. 1071. The learned WALL, in his *History of Infant Baptism*, vol. i. chap. xix. has given a concise and elegant account of the Pelagian controversy; an account which, though imperfect in several respects, abounds with solid and useful erudition.

lickly

lickly rejected and condemned [f]. But we must not omit observing,* that the existence of this Predestinarian sect has been denied by many learned men, and looked upon as an invention of the Semi-Pelagians, designed to decry the followers of AUGUSTIN, by attributing to them unjustly this dangerous and pernicious error [g].

CENT.
V.
PART II.

XXVI. A new and different modification was given to the doctrine of AUGUSTIN by the monk CASSIAN, who came from the east into *France*, and erected a monastery near *Marseille*. Nor was he the only one who attempted to fix upon a certain temperature between the errors of PELAGIUS and the opinions of the African oracle; several persons embarked in this undertaking about the year 430, and hence arose a new sect, which were called, by their adversaries, Semi-Pelagians.

Semi-Pelagians.

The opinions of this sect have been misrepresented, by its enemies, upon several occasions; such is generally the fate of all parties in religi-

[f] See JAC. SERMONDI *Historia Prædestiniana*, tom. iv. opp. p. 271. BASNAGE *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. liyr. xii. cap. ii. p. 698. DION. PETAVIUS, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. vi. p. 168. 174, &c.

[g] See GILB. MAUGUINI *Fabula Prædestiniana confutata*, which he subjoined to the second tome of his learned work, intitled, *Collectio variorum Scriptorum qui Sæc. ix. de Prædestinatione et Gratia scripserunt*. FRED. SPANHEMIUS, *Introd. ad Historiam Ecclæ.* tom. i. opp. p. 993. JAC. BASNAG. *Adnot. ad Prosperi Chronicon & Præf. ad Faustum Regiensem*, tom. i. *Lectiôn. Antiqu.* HEN. CANISII, p. 313. 348. GRANET (who wrote the life of LAUNOY) observes, that SIRMOND had solicited LAUNOY to write against MAUGUIN, who denied the existence of the *Prædestinarian sect*; but that the former, having examined the matter with care and application, adopted the sentiment of MAUGUIN. The whole dispute about the existence of this sect will, when closely looked into, appear to be little more perhaps than a dispute about words. It may be very true, that about this time, nay, from the time of St. PAUL, certain persons embraced the Predestinarian opinions here mentioned. But there is no solid proof, that the abettors of these opinions ever formed themselves into a sect. See BASNAGE *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 700.

C E N T. ous controversies. Their doctrine, as it has been
 V. generally explained by the learned, amounted to
 PART II. this: "That *inward preventing grace* was not necessary to form in the soul the *first beginnings* of true repentance and amendment; that every one was capable of producing these by the mere power of their natural faculties, as also of exercising faith in CHRIST, and forming the purposes of a holy and sincere obedience." But they acknowledged at the same time, "That none could *persevere* or *advance* in that holy and virtuous course, which they had the power of *beginning*, without the perpetual support, and the powerful assistance of the divine grace [b]." The disciples of AUGUSTIN, in Gaul, attacked the Semi-Pelagians with the utmost vehemence, without being able to extirpate or overcome them [i]. The doctrine of this sect was so suited to the capacities of the generality of men, so conformable to the way of thinking that prevailed among the monastic orders, so well received among the gravest and most learned Grecian doctors, that neither the zeal nor industry of its aduersa-

✎ [b] The leading principles of the Semi-Pelagians were the five following: 1. That God did not dispense his *grace* to one more than another, in consequence of Predestination, *i.e.* an eternal and absolute decree, but was willing to save all men, if they complied with the terms of his gospel. 2. That CHRIST died for all men. 3. That the grace purchased by CHRIST, and necessary to salvation, was offered to all men. 4. That man, before he received grace, was capable of faith and holy desires. 5. That man born free, was consequently capable of resisting the influences of grace, or complying with its suggestions. See BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. livr. xii. cap. i. p. 696, &c.

[i] JAC. BASNAGE, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. livr. xii. cap. i. *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. ii. *Præf.* p. 9. VOSSII *Histor. Pelagiana*, lib. v. p. 538. SCIPIO MAFFEI (under the fictitious name of IRENÆUS VERONENSIS) *De Hæresi Pelagiana in tome xxix. Opuscul. Scientif.* ANGELI Calogæ, p. 399.

ries could stop its rapid and extensive progress. Add to its other advantages, that neither AUGUSTIN, nor his followers, had ventured to condemn it in all its parts, nor to brand it as an impious and pernicious heresy.

XXVII. This was the commencement of those unhappy contests, those subtle and perplexing disputes concerning grace, or the nature and operation of that divine power, which is essentially required in order to salvation, that rent the church into the most deplorable divisions through the whole course of the succeeding age, and which, to the deep sorrow and regret of every true and generous Christian, have been continued down to the present time. The doctrine of AUGUSTIN, who was of opinion that, in the work of conversion and sanctification, all was to be attributed to a divine energy, and nothing to human agency, had many followers in all ages of the church; though his disciples have never been entirely agreed about the manner of explaining what he taught upon that head[k]. The followers of CASSIAN were, however, much more numerous, and his doctrine, though variously explained, was received in the greatest part of the monastic schools in *Gaul*, from whence it spread itself far and wide through the European provinces. As to the Greeks and other eastern christians, they had embraced the Semi-Pelagian doctrine before CASSIAN, and still adhere firmly to it. The generality of christians looked upon the opinions of

Various
controversies
concerning
grace.

✎ [k] It is well known that the Jansenists and Jesuits both plead the authority of St. AUGUSTIN, in behalf of their opposite systems with respect to predestination and grace. This knotty doctrine has exercised severely the pretended infallibility of the popes, and exposed it to the laughter of the wise upon many occasions; and the famous *Bull Unigenitus*, which of late years has made such noise, set CLEMENT XI. in direct opposition with several of the most celebrated Roman pontiffs. Which are we to believe?

PELAGIUS

C E N T. PELAGIUS as daring and presumptuous; and even
V.
P A R T II. to those who adopted them in secret, they ap-
———— appeared too free and too far removed from the no-
tions commonly received, to render the public
profession of them adviseable and prudent. Cer-
tain however it is that in all ages of the church
there have been several persons, who, in cōfor-
mity with the doctrine attributed to this heretic,
have believed mankind endowed with a *natural*
power of paying to the divine laws a *perfect obe-*
dience.

T H E
S I X T H C E N T U R Y.

P A R T I.
The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE zeal of the bishops of *Constantinople*,
seconded by the protection and influence of the Grecian emperors, increased the number of Christians in the east, and contributed to the conversion of some barbarous nations, of those, particularly, who lived upon the borders of the *Euxine* sea, as appears by the most authentic records of Grecian history. Among these nations were the Abasgi, who inhabited the country lying between the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, and mount *Caucasus*, and who embraced Christianity under the reign of JUSTINIAN [a]; the Heruli, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and who were converted under the same reign [b]; as also the Alans, Lezi, and Zanti, with other uncivilized countries, whose situation, at this time, is only known by vague and imper-

C E N T.
VI.
P A R T I.

The progress of the
Christian religion in
the east.

[a] PROCOPIUS, *De bello Gothico*, lib. iv. cap. iii. LE
QUIN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i p. 1351.

[b] PROCOPIUS, l. c. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

C E N T. VI. P A R T I. fect conjectures. These conversions, indeed, however pompously they may sound, were extremely superficial and imperfect, as we learn from the most credible accounts that have been given of them. All that was required of these darkened nations amounted to an oral profession of their faith in CHRIST, to their abstaining from sacrificing to the gods, and their committing to memory certain forms of doctrine; while little care was taken to enrich their minds with pious sentiments, or to cultivate in their hearts virtuous affections. So that, even after their conversion to Christianity, they retained their primitive ferocity and savage manners, and continued to distinguish themselves by the most horrid acts of cruelty and rapine, and the practice of all sorts of wickedness. In the greatest part of the Grecian provinces, and even in the capital of the eastern empire, there were still multitudes who preserved a secret attachment to the Pagan religion. Of these vast numbers were brought over to Christianity under the reign of JUSTIN, by the ministerial labours of JOHN, bishop of Asia [c].

In the west. II. In the western parts, REMIGIUS, or REMI, bishop of *Rheims*, who is commonly called *The apostle of the Gauls*, signalized his zeal in the conversion of those who still adhered to the antient superstitions [d]; and his success was considerable, particularly after that auspicious period when CLOVIS, king of the Franks, embraced the gospel.

In Britain, several circumstances concurred to favour the propagation of Christianity. ETHELBERT, king of *Kent*, and the most consider-

[c] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANUS. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 85

[d] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 155.

able of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, among whom that island was at this time divided, married BERTHA, daughter of CHEREBERT, king of *Paris*, towards the conclusion of this century. This princess, partly by her own influence, and partly by the pious efforts of the clergy, who followed her into *Britain*, gradually formed, in the mind of ETHELBERT, a certain inclination to the Christian religion. While the king was in this favourable disposition, GREGORY the GREAT sent into *Britain*, A. D. 596, forty Benedictine monks, with AUGUSTIN at their head [e], in order to bring to perfection what the pious queen had so happily begun. This monk, seconded by the zeal and assistance of BERTHA, converted the king, and the greatest part of the inhabitants of *Kent*, and laid anew the foundations of the British church [f].

The labours of COLUMBAS, an Irish monk, were attended with success among the Picts and Scots, many of whom embraced the gospel of CHRIST [g].

In *Germany*, the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Bavi, are said to have abandoned, in this century, their antient superstitions [h], and to have re-

☞ [e] This British apostle was prior of the monastery of St. ANDREW, of the order of St. BENEDICT, at *Rome*. After his arrival in *England*, he converted the heathen temples into places of Christian worship, erected *Christ-church* into a cathedral, opened a seminary of learning, founded the abbey of St. AUGUSTIN, received episcopal ordination from the primate of *Arles*, was invested by Pope GREGORY with power over all the British bishops and Saxon prelates, and was the first archbishop of *Canterbury*.

[f] BEDE, *Histor. Eccles. Gentis Anglor.* lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 55. edit. Chiffletii. RAPIN's *History of England, A.D. 540*. tom. iii. Februar. p. 470.

[g] BEDE, *Histor. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 134.

[h] HENR. CANISII *Lectior. Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 208. AVENTINUS, *Annal. Boicrum*.

CE N T. VI. received the light of divine truth; though this fact
P A R T I. appears extremely doubtful to many.

All these conversions and sacred exploits will lose much of their importance in the esteem of such, as examine with attention the accounts which have been given of them by the writers of this and the succeeding ages. For by these accounts it appears, that the converted nations, now mentioned, retained a great part of their former impiety, superstition, and licentiousness; and that, attached to CHRIST by a mere outward and nominal profession, they, in effect, renounced the purity of his doctrine, and the authority of his gospel, by their flagitious lives, and the superstitious and idolatrous rites and institutions which they continued to observe [i].

The Jews converted in several places.

III. A vast multitude of Jews, converted to Christianity in several places, were added to the church during the course of this century. Many in the east, particularly the inhabitants of *Borium*, a city of *Libya*, were brought over to the truth by the persuasion and influence of the emperor JUSTINIAN [k]. In the west, the zeal and authority of the Gallic and Spanish monarchs, the efforts of GREGORY the GREAT, and the labours of AVITUS bishop of *Vienne*, engaged numbers of that blinded nation to receive the gospel. It must, however, be acknowledged, that of these conversions the greatest part were owing to the liberality of Christian princes, or to the fear of punishment, rather than to the force of argument

[i] This is ingenuously confessed by the Benedictine monks, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. Introduc. p. 8. 11. 13. See also the orders given to the Anglo-Saxons by GREGORY the GREAT, in his *Epist.* lib. xi. lxxvi. p. 1176. tom. ii. opp. edit. Benedict. where we find him permitting them to sacrifice to the saints, on their respective holidays, the victims which they had formerly offered to the gods. See also WILKINS's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 18.

[k] PROCOPIUS, *De Edificiis Justiniani*, lib. vi. cap. ii.

or to the love of truth. In *Gaul*, the Jews were compelled by CHILDERIC to receive the ordinance of baptism; and the same despotic method of converting was practised in *Spain* [l]. This method, however, was entirely disapproved by GREGORY the GREAT, who, though extremely severe upon the heretics, would suffer no violence to be offered to the Jews [m].

CENT.
VI.
PART I.

IV. If credit is to be given to the writers of this century, the conversion of these uncivilized nations to Christianity was principally effected by the prodigies and miracles which the heralds of the gospel were enabled to work in its behalf. But the conduct of the converted nations is sufficient to invalidate the force of these testimonies: for certainly had such miracles been wrought among them, their lives would have been more suitable to their profession, and their attachment and obedience to the doctrines and laws of the gospel more steadfast and exemplary than they appear to have been. Besides, as we have already had occasion to observe, in abandoning their ancient superstitions, the greatest part of them were more influenced by the example and authority of their princes, than by force of argument, or the power of a rational conviction. And, indeed, if we consider the wretched manner in which many of the first Christian missionaries performed the solemn task they had undertaken, we shall perceive that they wanted not many arguments to enforce the doctrines they taught, and the discipline they recommended; for they required nothing of these barbarous people that was

The miracles of this century.

[l] GREG. TURON. *Histor. Francor.* lib. vi. cap. xvii. LAUNOIUS, *De veteri more baptizandi Judæos et infideles*, cap. i. p. 700. 704. tom. ii. part II. opp.

[m] See his *Epistles*, book i. ep. xlvii. tom. ii. opp. p. 541. edit. Benedicæ. particularly those which he wrote to VIRGILIUS of *Arles*, THEODORUS of *Marseilles*, and PETER of *Tarracina*.

C E N T. difficult to be performed, or that laid any re-
 VI. markable restraint upon their appetites and pas-
 P A R T I. sions. The principal injunctions they imposed
 upon these rude profelytes were, that they should
 get by heart certain summaries of doctrine, and
 pay to the images of CHRIST and the saints the
 same religious services which they had formerly
 offered to the statues of the gods. Nor were
 they at all delicate or scrupulous in chusing the
 means of establishing their credit; for they look-
 ed upon it as lawful, nay even meritorious, to
 deceive an ignorant and inattentive multitude, by
 representing to them as prodigies, things that
 were merely natural, as we learn from the most
 authentic records of these times.

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events which happened to
 the church during this century.*

Some re-
 mains of
 Paganism
 are to be
 found in
 this cen-
 tury.

I. **T**HOUGH the abjuration of Paganism
 was, by the imperial laws, made a ne-
 cessary step to preferment, and to the exercising
 all public offices; yet several persons, reputed
 for their erudition and gravity of manners, per-
 sisted in their adherence to the antient supersti-
 tion. TRIBONIAN, the famous compiler of the
 Roman law, is thought, by some, to have been
 among the number of those who continued in
 their prejudices against the Christian religion;
 and such also, in the opinion of many, was the
 case of PROCOPIUS the celebrated historian. It
 is at least undoubtedly certain, that AGATHIAS,
 who was an eminent lawyer at *Smyrna*, and who
 had also acquired a considerable reputation as an
 historical writer, persevered in his attachment to
 the Pagan worship. These illustrious Gentiles
 were

were exempted from the severities which were employed frequently to engage the lower orders to abandon the service of the gods. The rigour of the laws, as it usually happens in human life, fell only upon those who had neither rank, fortune, nor court-favour to ward off their execution..

CENT.
VI.
PART I.

II. Surprised as we may be at the protection granted to the persons now mentioned, and that at a time when the gospel was, in many instances, propagated by unchristian methods; it will appear still more astonishing, that the Platonic philosophers, whose opposition to Christianity was universally known, should be permitted, in *Greece* and *Egypt*, to teach publicly the tenets of their sect, which were absolutely incompatible with the doctrines of the gospel. These doctors indeed affected, generally speaking, a high degree of moderation and prudence, and, for the most part, modified their expressions in such a manner, as to give to the Pagan system an evangelical aspect, extremely adapted to deceive the unwary, as the examples of CHALCIDIUS [n] and ALEXANDER of *Lycopolis*

Several
write a-
gainst
Christi-
anity.

☞ [n] The religion of CHALCIDIUS has been much disputed among the learned. CAVE seems inclined to rank him among the Christian writers, though he expresses some uncertainty about the matter. HUET, G. J. VOSSIUS, FABRICIUS, and BEAUSOBRE, decide with somewhat more assurance that CHALCIDIUS was a Christian. Some learned men have maintained, on the contrary, that many things in the writings of this sage entitle him to a place among the Pagan philosophers. Our learned author, in his notes to his Latin translation of CUDWORTH's *Intellectual System*, and in a *Dissertation de turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*, lays down an hypothesis, which holds the middle way between these two extremes. He is of opinion that CHALCIDIUS neither rejected nor embraced the whole system of the Christian doctrine, but selected out of the religion of JESUS and the tenets of PLATO, a body of divinity, in which however Platonism was predominant; and that he was one of those Syncretist or Eclectic philosophers,

CENT.
VI.
PART I.

Lycopolis abundantly testify [o]. Some of them however were less modest, nay, carried their audacious efforts against Christianity so far as to revile it publicly. DAMASCIUS, in the life of ISODORUS, and in other places, casts upon the Christians the most ignominious aspersions [p]; SIMPLICIUS, in his illustrations of the Aristotelian philosophy, throws out several malignant insinuations,

who abounded in the fourth and fifth centuries, and who attempted the uniting Paganism and Christianity into one motley system. This account of the matter, however, appears too vague to the celebrated author of the *Critical History of Philosophy*, M. BRUCKER. This excellent writer agrees with Dr. MOSHEIM in this, that CHALCIDIUS followed the motley method of the eclectic Platonists, but does not see any thing in this inconsistent with his having publicly professed the Christian religion. For the question is not, whether this philosopher was a sound and orthodox Christian, which M. BRUCKER denies him to have been, but whether he had abandoned the Pagan rites, and made a public profession of Christianity; and this our philosophical historian looks upon as evident. For though, in the commentary upon PLATO's *Timæus*, CHALCIDIUS teaches several doctrines that seem to strike at the foundations of our holy religion, yet the same may be said of ORIGEN, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ARNOBIUS, and others, who are, nevertheless, reckoned among the professors of Christianity. The reader will find a most excellent view of the different opinions concerning the religion of CHALCIDIUS, in the *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ* BRUCKERI, tom. iii. p. 472—485. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that the Eclectics, before Christianity became the religion of the state, enriched their system from the gospel, but ranged themselves under the standards of PLATO; and that they repaired to those of CHRIST, without any considerable change of their system, when the examples and authority of the emperors rendered the profession of the Christian religion a matter of prudence, as well as its own excellence rendered it most justly a matter of choice.

[o] ALEXANDER wrote a treatise against the Manichæans, which is published by COMBESIS, in the second tome of his *Auctor. Noviss. Biblioth. PP.* PHOTIUS, COMBESIS, and our learned CAVE looked upon ALEXANDER as a proselyte to Christianity. But BEAUSOBRE has demonstrated the contrary. See *Histoire de Manichéisme*, part II. *Discours Préliminaire*, § 13. p. 236.

[p] PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca Cod.* ccxlii. p. 1027.

ations

ations against the doctrines of the gospel; and the *Epicheiremato* of PROCLUS, written expressly against the disciples of JESUS, were universally read, and were, on that account, accurately refuted by PHILOPONUS [q]. All this shews, that many of the magistrates, who were witnesses of these calumnious attempts against the gospel, were not so much Christians in reality, as in appearance; otherwise they would not have permitted the slanders of these licentious revilers to pass without correction or restraint.

C E N T.
VI.
P A R T I.

III. Notwithstanding the extensive progress of the gospel, the Christians, even in this century, suffered grievously, in several places, from the savage cruelty and bitterness of their enemies. In *Britain*, the Anglo-Saxons, who were masters of that kingdom, involved a multitude of its antient inhabitants, who professed Christianity, in the deepest distresses, and tormented them with all that variety of suffering, which the injurious and malignant spirit of persecution could invent [r]. The Huns, in their irruption into *Thrace*, *Greece*, and the other provinces, during the reign of JUSTINIAN, treated the Christians with great barbarity; not so much, perhaps, from an aversion to Christianity, as from an hostile spirit of hatred against the Greeks, and a desire of overturning and destroying their empire. The face of affairs was totally changed in *Italy*, about the middle of this century, by a grand revolution which happened under the reign of JUSTINIAN I. This emperor, by the arms of NARSES, overturned the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, which had subsisted ninety years; and subdued all *Italy* under his dominion. The state of things, however, which this revolution introduced, was not of a very long

The sufferings of the Christians in several places.

[q] See J. A. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. iii. p. 522.

[r] USSERI *Index Chronol. Antiquit. Eccles. Britann. sub-jesus ad A. D. VIII.* p. 1123.

CENT.
VI.
PART I.

duration; for the Lombards, a fierce and warlike people, headed by ALBOINUS their king, and joined by several other German nations, issued forth from *Pannonia*, in the year 568, under the reign of JUSTIN, invaded *Italy*; and, having made themselves masters of the whole country, except *Rome* and *Ravenna*, erected a new kingdom at *Ticinum*. Under these new tyrants, who, to the natural ferocity of their characters, added an aversion to the religion of JESUS, the Christians, in the beginning, endured calamities of every kind. But the fury of these savage usurpers gradually subsided; and their manners contracted, from time to time, a milder character. AUTHARIS, the third monarch of the Lombards, embraced Christianity, as it was professed by the Arians, in the year 587. But his successor AGILULF, who married his widow THEUDELINDA, was persuaded, by that princess, to abandon Arianism, and to adopt the tenets of the Nicene Catholics [s].

But the calamities of the Christians, in all other countries, were light and inconsiderable in comparison of those which they suffered in *Persia* under CHOSROES, the inhuman monarch of that nation. This monster of impiety aimed his audacious and desperate efforts against heaven itself; for he publicly declared, that he would make war not only upon JUSTINIAN, but also upon the God of the Christians; and, in consequence of this blasphemous menace, he vented his rage against the followers of JESUS in the most barbarous manner, and put multitudes of them to the most cruel and ignominious deaths [t].

[s] PAUL. DIACON. *De gestis Longobardorum*, lib. ii. cap. ii. xxvii. p. 219. 231. edit. Lindenbrogii. MURATORII *Antiq. Italæ*, tom. i. p. 14. tom. ii. p. 297. GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 302.

[t] PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, lib. ii. cap. xxvi,

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during
this century.*

THE incursions of the barbarous nations into the greatest part of the western provinces, were extremely prejudicial to the interests of learning and philosophy, as must be known to all who have any acquaintance with the history of these unhappy times. During these tumultuous scenes of desolation and horror, the liberal arts and sciences would have been totally extinguished, had they not found a place of refuge, such as it was, among the bishops and the monastic orders. Here they assembled their scattered remains, and received a degree of culture which just served to keep them from perishing. Those churches, which were distinguished by the name of *Cathedrals*, had schools erected under their jurisdiction, in which the bishop, or a certain person appointed by him, instructed the youth in the *seven liberal arts*, as a preparatory introduction to the study of the scriptures [a]. Persons of both sexes, who had devoted themselves to the monastic life, were obliged, by the founders of their respective orders, to employ daily a certain portion of their time in reading the ancient doctors of the church,

C E N T.
VI.
P A R T II.

The state
of letters in
the west.

[a] FLEURY, *Discours sur l'Histoire Eccles. depuis l'an 600*, &c. § 21. p. 56. tom. xiii. de l'*Histoire Eccles.—Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. iii. Intr. § 32. p. 12. HERM. *CON-RINGII Antiq. Academicæ*, p. 66—167, edit. Heumann. whose

C E N T. VI. whose writings were looked upon as the rich re-
 PART II. pertories of celestial wisdom, in which all the
 treasures of theology were centered [b]. Hence
 libraries were formed in all the monasteries, and
 the pious and learned productions of the Christian
 and other writers were copied and dispersed by
 the diligence of transcribers appointed for that
 purpose, who were generally such monks as, by
 weakness of constitution or other bodily infirmities,
 were rendered incapable of harder labour. To these
 establishments we owe the preservation and possession
 of all the antient authors sacred and profane, who
 escaped, in this manner, the savage fury of Gothic
 ignorance, and are happily transmitted to our times.
 It is also to be observed, that, besides the schools
 that belonged to the cathedrals, there were others
 opened in the monasteries, in which the youth who
 were set apart for the monastic life, were instructed
 by the abbot, or some of his ecclesiastics, in the arts
 and sciences [c].

The sciences are
 taught very
 imperfectly.

II. But these institutions and establishments, however
 laudable, did not produce such happy effects as
 might have been expected from them. For not to
 speak of the indolence of certain abbots and
 bishops, who neglected entirely the duties of
 their stations, nor of the bitter aversion which
 others discovered towards every sort of learning
 and erudition, which they considered as
 pernicious to the progress of piety [d]; not to
 speak

[b] BENEDICT. ANIANENSIS *Concordia Regularum*, lib. ii. p. 55. 64. 75. 77. 80. 100. lib. iii. p. 16--41, &c. edit. Hug. Menardi. Jo. MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Añor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. 44.

[c] BENEDICT. *Concord Reg.* lib. ii. p. 232. MABILLON, *Añor. SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 314.

[d] GREGORY the GREAT is said to have been of this number, and to have ordered a multitude of the productions of Pagan writers, and among others LIVY's *Roman History*, to be committed

speak of the *illiberal ignorance* which several prelates affected, and which they injudiciously confounded with *Christian simplicity* [e]; even those who applied themselves to the study and propagation of the sciences, were, for the most part, extremely unskilful and illiterate; and the branches of learning taught in the schools, were inconsiderable both as to their quality and their number [f]. Greek literature was almost every where neglected; and those who, by profession, had devoted themselves to the culture of Latin erudition, spent their time and labour in grammatical subtilties and quibbles, as the pedantic examples of ISIDORUS and CASSIODORUS abundantly shew. Eloquence was degraded into a rhetorical bombast, a noisy kind of declamation, which was composed of motley and frigid allegories and barbarous terms, as may even appear from several parts of the writings of those superior geniuses who surpassed their cotemporaries in precision and elegance, such as BOETHIUS, CASSIODORUS, ENNODIUS, and others. As to the other liberal arts, they shared the common calamity; and, as they were now cultivated, had nothing very liberal or elegant in their appearance, consisting entirely in a few dry rules, which, instead of a complete and finished system, produced only a ghastly and lifeless skeleton.

III. Philosophy fared still worse than literature: for it was entirely banished from all the seminaries which were under the inspection and government of the ecclesiastical order. The greatest part of these zealots looked upon the study of philosophy not only as useless, but even pernicious

The study
of philosophy
decided.

committed to the flames. See GABRIEL LIRON, *Singularités Histor. et Litter.* tom. i. p. 166.

[e] MABILLON. *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedic.* p. 46.

[f] See M. AUR. CASSIODORI *Liber de septem Disciplinis*, which is extant among his works.

cious

C E N T. cious to those who had dedicated themselves to
 VI. the service of religion. The most eminent, nay
 PART II. almost the only Latin philosopher of this age, was
 the celebrated BOETHIUS, privy counsellor to
 THEODORIC, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy.
 This illustrious senator had embraced the Pla-
 tonic philosophy [g], but approved also, as was
 usual among the modern Platonics, the doctrine
 of ARISTOTLE, and illustrated it in his writings.
 And it was undoubtedly owing to the diligence
 and zeal with which he explained and recom-
 mended the Aristotelian philosophy, that it arose
 now among the Latins to a higher degree of cre-
 dit than it had hitherto enjoyed.

The state of
 letters
 among the
 Greeks.

IV. The state of the liberal arts among the
 Greeks was, in several places, much more flour-
 ishing than that in which we have left them
 among the Latins; and the emperors raised and
 nourished a spirit of literary emulation, by the
 noble rewards and the distinguished honours
 which they attached to the pursuit of all the vari-
 ous branches of learning [b]. It is, however,
 certain, that notwithstanding these encourage-
 ments, the sciences were cultivated with less ar-
 dour, and men of learning and genius were less
 numerous than in the preceding century.

In the beginning of this the modern Platonics
 maintained as yet their credit, and their philo-
 sophy was in vogue. The Alexandrian and Athe-
 nian schools flourished, under the direction of
 DAMASCIUS, ISIDORUS, SIMPLICIUS, EULAMIUS,

[g] This will appear evident to such as, with a competent
 knowledge of modern Platonism, read attentively the books
 of BOETHIUS, *De consolazione*, &c. See also, on this subject,
 RINAT. VALL. p. 10. 50. HOLSTENIUS *en vita Porphyrii*,
 p. 7. edit. Cantabr. See also MASCOV. *Hist. Germanor.*
 tom. ii. p. 102.

[b] See the *Codex Theodos.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 113. HERM.
 CONRINGIUS, *De studiis urbis Romæ et Constantinop.* in a
 Dissertation subjoined to his *Antiquitates Academicæ*.

HERMIAS,

HERMIAS, PRISCIANUS, and others, who were placed on the highest summit of literary glory. But when the emperor JUSTINIAN, by a particular edict, prohibited the teaching philosophy at Athens [i] (which edict, no doubt, was levelled at the modern Platonism already mentioned), and when his resentment began to flame out against those who refused to abandon the Pagan worship, then all these celebrated philosophers took refuge among the Persians, who were, at that time, the enemies of Rome [k]. They, indeed, returned from their voluntary exile, when the peace was concluded between the Persians and the Romans A. D. 533 [l]; but they could never recover their former credit, and they gradually disappeared in the public schools and seminaries of learning, which ceased, at length, to be under their direction.

Thus expired that famous sect, which was distinguished by the title of the Modern or Later Platonic; and which, for a series of ages, had produced such divisions and tumults in the Christian church, and been, in other respects, prejudicial to the interests and progress of the gospel. It was succeeded by the Aristotelian philosophy, which arose imperceptibly out of its obscurity, and was placed in an advantageous light by the illustrations of the learned; but especially and principally by the celebrated commentaries of PHILOPONUS. And, indeed, the knowledge of this philosophy was necessary for the Greeks;

[i] JOHANNES MALELA, *Historia Chronica*, part II. p. 187. edit. Oxon. Another testimony concerning this matter is cited from a certain *Chronicle*, not yet published, by NIC. ALIEMANNUS, *ad Procopii Histor. Arcanum*, cap. xxvi. p. 377. edit. Venet.

[k] AGATHIAS, *De rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 49. edit. Venet. tom. ii. *Corpor. Byzanti.*

[l] See WESSELIINGII *Observat. Variar.* lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 117.

since

CENT. VI. since it was from the depths of this peripatetical
PART II. wisdom, that the Monophysites and Nestorians
drew the subtilties with which they endeavoured
to overwhelm the abettors of the Ephesian and
Chalcedonian councils.

In the east. V. The Nestorians and Monophysites, who
lived in the east, turned equally their eyes towards
ARISTOTLE, and, in order to train their respec-
tive followers to the field of controversy, and arm
them with the subtilties of a contentious logic,
translated the principal books of that deep philo-
sopher into their native languages. SERGIUS, a
Monophysite and philosopher, translated the books
of ARISTOTLE into Syriac [m]. URANIUS, a Sy-
rian, propagated the doctrines of this philosopher
in Persia; and disposed in their favour CHOSROES,
the monarch of that nation, who became a zeal-
ous abettor of the peripatetic system [n]. The
same prince received from one of the Nestorian
faction (which, after having procured the exclu-
sion of the Greeks, triumphed at this time unri-
valled in Persia) a translation of the Stagirite into
the Persian language [o].

It is, however, to be observed, that among
these eastern Christians there were some who re-
jected both the Platonic and Aristotelian doc-
trines; and, unwilling to be obliged to others
for their philosophical knowledge, invented sys-
tems of their own, which were inexpressibly chi-
merical and pregnant with absurdities. Of this
class of original philosophers was COSMAS, a Nes-

[m] GEORGIUS ABULPHARAIUS, *Historia Dynastiar.* pub-
lished by Dr. POCOCK, p. 94. 172.

[n] See AGATHIAS, *De rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 48.
That URANIUS made use of the Aristotelian philosophy in the
Eutychian controversy, is evident even from this single circum-
stance, that AGATHIAS represents him disputing concerning the
possibility and immiscibility of God (εἰς το παθὲν καὶ ἀέγγυτον).

[o] AGATHIAS, l. c. lib. ii. p. 48. edit. Venet.

toſian, commonly called Indicoſteuſtes, whoſe doctrines are extremely ſingular, and reſemble more the notions of the Orientals than the opinions of the Greeks [p]. Such alſo was the writer, from whoſe *Expoſition of the Oſtateuch*, РЮ-ТИУS has drawn ſeveral citations [q].

CENT.
VI.
PART II

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and miniſters of the church.

I. **T**HE external form of church government continued without any remarkable alteration during the courſe of this century. But the biſhops of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, who were conſidered as the moſt eminent and principal rulers of the Chriſtian church, were engaged in perpetual diſputes about the extent and limits of their reſpective juriſdictions, and ſeemed both to aſpire at the ſupreme authority in eccleſiaſtical matters. The biſhop of *Conſtantinople* not only claimed an unrivalled ſovereignty over the eaſtern churches, but alſo maintained, that his church was, in point of dignity, no way inferior to that of *Rome*. The Roman pontifs beheld, with impatience, theſe lordly pretenſions, and warmly aſſerted the pre-eminence of their church; and its undoubted ſuperiority over that of *Conſtantinople*. GREGORY the GREAT diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this violent conteſt; and the following event furniſhed him with an opportunity of exerting his zeal. In the year 588, JOHN biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, ſurnamed the FASTER, on account of his extraordinary abſtinance and aſterity, aſſembled, by his own au-

Diſputes be-
tween the
biſhops of
Rome and
*Conſtanti-
nople*.

[p] BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON, *Prefat. ad Coſman*, p. 10. tom. ii. *Collectionis novæ patrum Græcorum*.

[q] *Biblioth. Codic.* xxxvi. p. 22, 23.

thority;

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

thority, a council at *Constantinople*, to inquire into an accusation brought against PETER patriarch of *Antioch*; and, upon this occasion, assumed the title of *œcumenical*, or *universal bishop* [r]. Now, although this title had been formerly enjoyed by the bishops of *Constantinople*, and was also susceptible of an interpretation that might have prevented its giving umbrage or offence to any [s], yet GREGORY suspected, both from the time and the occasion of JOHN's renewing his claim to it, that he was aiming at a supremacy over all the Christian churches; and therefore he opposed his claim in the most vigorous manner, in letters to that purpose addressed to the emperor, and to such persons as he judged proper to second his opposition. But all his efforts were without effect; and the bishops of *Constantinople* continued to assume the title in question, though not in the sense in which it had alarmed the Roman pontif [t].

☞ [r] We cannot avoid taking notice of some mistakes which have slipped from the pen of Dr. MOSHEIM in his narration of this event. *First*, the council here mentioned was held under the pontificate of PELAGIUS II. and not of GREGORY the GREAT, who was not chosen bishop of *Rome* before A.D. 590. *Secondly*, The person accused before this council was not PUTLER, but GREGORY bishop of *Antioch*. *Thirdly*, It does not appear that the council was summoned by JOHN of *Constantinople*, but by the emperor MAURICIUS, to whom GREGORY had appealed from the governor of the east, before whom he was first accused.

☞ [s] The title of *universal bishop*, which had been given by LEO and JUSTINIAN to the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, was not attended with any accession of power.

[t] GREGOR. MAGNI *Epist.* lib. iv. v. vii. All the passages in these epistles that relate to this famous contest, have been extracted and illustrated by LAUNOIS, in his *Affertio in Privileg. S. Medardi*, tom. iii. opp. part II. p. 266. See also LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 67. PFAFFII *Dissertatio de titulo Œcumenicus*, in the *Tempe Helvetica*, tom. iv. p. 99.

II. This pontif, however, adhered tenaciouſly to his purpoſe, oppoſed with vehemence the biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. raiſed new tumults and diſſenſions among the ſacred order, and aimed at no leſs than an unlimited ſupremacy over the Chriſtian church. This ambitious deſign ſucceeded in the weſt; while, in the eaſtern provinces, his arrogant pretenſions were ſcarcely reſpected by any but thoſe who were at enmity with the biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; and this prelate was always in a condition to make head againſt the progreſs of his authority in the eaſt. How much the opinions of ſome were favourable to the lordly demands of the Roman pontifs, may be eaſily imagined from an expreſſion of ENNODIUS, that infamous and extravagant flatterer of SYMMACHUS, who was a prelate of but ambiguous fame. This paraſitical panegyriſt, among other impertinent aſſertions, maintained, that the Roman pontif was conſtituted *judge in the place of God*, which he filled as the vicegerent of the Moſt High [u]. On the other hand, it is certain, from a variety of the moſt authentic records, that both the emperors and the nations in general were far from being diſpoſed to bear with patience the yoke of ſervitude, which the ſee of *Rome* was arrogantly impoſing upon the Chriſtian church [w]. The Gothic princes ſet bounds to the power of the biſhop of *Rome* in *Italy*, permitted none to be raiſed to

C E N T.
VI.
PART II.

The Roman pontif ſtruggles hard for univerſal dominion.

[u] See his *Apologeticum pro Synodo*, in the xvth volume of the *Bibliotheca Magna Patrum*, p. 248. edit. Paris. One would think that this ſervile aoulator had never read the 4th verſe of the 1ſt chapter of St PAUL's 2d *Epistle to the Theſſalonians*, where the *Anti Chriſt*, or man of ſin, is deſcribed in the very terms in which he repreſents the authority of the pontif SYMMACHUS.

[w] See particularly the truth of this aſſertion, with reſpect to *Spain*, in LEDDES's *Difſertation on the Papal Supremacy, chiefly with relation to the ancient Spaniſh church*, which is to be found in the ſecond volume of his *Miſcellaneous Tracts*.

C E N T. VI. the pontificate without their approbation, and reserved to themselves the right of judging concerning the legality of every new election [x]. They enacted spiritual laws, called the religious orders before their tribunals, and summoned councils by their regal authority [y]. In consequence of all this, the pontifs, amidst all their high pretensions, revered the majesty of their kings and emperors, and submitted to their authority with the most profound humility; nor were they, as yet, so lost to all sense of shame, as to aim at the subjection of kings and princes to their ghostly dominion [z].

Vices and corruption of the clergy.

III. The rights and privileges of the clergy were very considerable before this period, and the riches, which they had accumulated, immense: and both received daily augmentations from the growth of superstition in this century. The arts of a rapacious priesthood were practised upon the ignorant devotion of the simple; and even the remorse of the wicked was made an instrument of increasing the ecclesiastical treasure. For an opinion was propagated with industry among the people, that the remission of their sins was to be purchased by their liberalities to the churches and monks, and that the prayers of departed saints, whose efficacy was victorious at the throne of God, were to be bought by offerings presented to the temples, which were consecrated to these celestial mediators. But, in proportion as the riches of the church increased, the various orders

[x] See Jo. JAC MASCOVIS *Histor. Germanor.* tom. ii. not. p. 113.

[y] BASNAGE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformes*, tom. i. p. 381.

[z] See the citations from GREGORY the GREAT, collected by LAUNOIS, *De regia potestate in matrimon.* tom. i. opp. part II. p. 691. and in his *Affertio in Privilegium S. Medardi*, p. 272. tom. iii. opp. part II. See also GIANNONE, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 282.

of the clergy were infected with those vices that are too often the consequences of an affluent prosperity. This appears, with the utmost evidence, from the imperial edicts and the decrees of councils, which were so frequently levelled at the immoralities of those who were distinguished by the name of *clerks*. For whence so many laws to restrain the vices, and to preserve the morals of the ecclesiastical orders, if they had fulfilled even the obligations of external decency, or shewn, in the general tenor of their lives, a certain degree of respect for religion and virtue? Be that as it will, the effect of all these laws and edicts was so inconsiderable as to be scarcely perceived; for so high was the veneration paid, at this time, to the clergy, that their most flagitious crimes were corrected by the slightest and gentlest punishments: an unhappy circumstance, which added to their presumption, and rendered them more daring and audacious in iniquity.

IV. The bishops of *Rome*, who considered themselves as the chiefs and fathers of the Christian church, are not to be excepted from this censure, any more than the clergy who were under their jurisdiction. We may form some notion of their humility and virtue by that long and vehement contention, which arose in the year 498, between SYMMACHUS and LAURENTIUS, who were, on the same day, elected to the pontificate by different parties, and whose dispute was, at length, decided by THEODORIC king of the Goths. Each of these ecclesiastics maintained obstinately the validity of his election; they reciprocally accused each other of the most detestable crimes; and to their mutual dishonour, their accusations did not appear, on either side, entirely destitute of foundation. Three different councils, assembled at *Rome*, endeavoured to terminate this

C E N T.
VI.
P A R T II.

The bishops
of *Rome* not
excepted,

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

odious schism [a], but without success. A fourth was summoned, by THEODORIC, to examine the accusations brought against SYMMACHUS, to whom this prince had, at the beginning of the schism, adjudged the papal chair. This council was held about the commencement of this century, and in it the Roman pontif was acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge. But the adverse party refused to acquiesce in this decision; and this gave occasion to ENNODIUS of *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, to draw up his adulatory *apology for the council* and SYMMACHUS [b]. In this apology, which disguises the truth under the seducing colours of a gaudy rhetoric, the reader will perceive that the foundations of that enormous power, which the popes of *Rome* afterwards acquired, were now laid; but he will seek in vain in this laboured production any satisfactory proof of the injustice of the charge brought against SYMMACHUS [c].

The growth
of the
monks.

V. The number, credit, and influence of the monks augmented daily in all parts of the Christian world. They multiplied so prodigiously in the east, that whole armies might have been raised out of the monastic order, without any sensible

[a] This schism may be truly termed odious, as it was carried on by assassinations, massacres, and all the cruel proceedings of a desperate civil war. See PAUL DIACONUS, lib. viii.

[b] This *apology* may be seen in the xvth volume of the *Magn. Bibl. Patrum*, p. 248.

[c] That SYMMACHUS was never fairly acquitted, may be presumed from the *first*, and proved from the *second* of the following circumstances. *First*, That THEODORIC, who was a wise and equitable prince, and who had attentively examined the charge brought against him, would not have referred the decision to the bishops, if the matter had been clear, but would have pronounced judgment himself, as he had formerly done concerning the legality of his election. The *second* circumstance against SYMMACHUS is, that the council acquitted him without so much as hearing those who accused him: and he himself did not appear, though frequently summoned.

diminution

diminution of that enormous body. The monastic life was also highly honoured, and had an incredible number of patrons and followers in all the western provinces, as appears from the rules which were prescribed, in this century, by various doctors, for directing the conduct of the cloistered monks and the Holy Virgins that had sacrificed their capacity of being useful in the world, to the gloomy charms of a convent [*d*]. In *Great Britain*, a certain abbot, named CONGALL, is said to have persuaded an incredible number of persons to abandon the affairs, obligations, and duties of social life, and to spend the remainder of their days in solitude, under a rule of discipline, of which he was the inventor [*e*]. His disciples travelled through many countries, in which they propagated, with such success, the contagion of this monastic devotion, that, in some time, *Ireland, Gaul, Germany, and Switzerland*, swarmed with those lazy orders, and were, in a manner, covered with convents. The most illustrious disciple of the abbot now mentioned, was COLUMBAN, whose singular rule of discipline is yet extant, and surpasses all the rest in simplicity and brevity [*f*]. The monastic orders, in general, abounded with fanatics and profligates; the latter were more numerous than the former in the western convents, while, in those of the east, the fanatics were predominant.

VI. A new order of monks, which in a manner absorbed all the others that were established in the

The rise of the Benedictine order.

[*d*] These are in HOLSTENIUS's *Codex Regularum*, part II. which work was published at *Rome* in three volumes 4to, in the year 1661. See also EDM. MARTENE et URSIN. DURAND. *Thesaur. Anecd. Nov.* tom. i. p. 4.

[*e*] JAC. USSERI *Antiq. Eccles. Britan.*

[*f*] USSERI *Sylloge Antiquar. Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 5—15. HOLSTENII *Codex Regularum*, tom. ii. p. 48. MABILON, *Præf. ad Sæculum ii. Benedictinum*, p. 4.

C E N T. VI. west, was instituted, A. D. 529, by BENEDICT of
 PART II. *Nursia*, a man of piety and reputation for the age
 he lived in. From his *rule* of discipline, which is
 yet extant, we learn that it was not his intention
 to impose it upon all the monastic societies, but
 to form an order whose discipline should be
 milder, their establishment more solid, and their
 manners more regular, than those of the other
 monastic bodies; and whose members, during
 the course of a holy and peaceful life, were to
 divide their time between prayer, reading, the
 education of youth, and other pious and learned
 labours [g]. But, in process of time, the fol-
 lowers of this celebrated ecclesiastic degenerated
 sadly from the piety of their founder, and lost
 sight of the duties of their station and the great
 end of their establishment. Having acquired
 immense riches from the devout liberality of the
 opulent, they sunk into luxury, intemperance,
 and sloth, abandoned themselves to all sorts of
 vices, extended their zeal and attention to worldly
 affairs, insinuated themselves into the cabinets of
 princes, took part in political cabals and court
 factions, made a vast augmentation of supersti-
 tious rites and ceremonies in their order, to blind
 the multitude, and supply the place of their ex-
 piring virtue; and, among other *invidious* en-
 terprises, laboured most ardently to swell the ar-
 rogance, by enlarging the power and authority of
 the Roman pontif. The good BENEDICT never
 dreamt that the great purposes of his institution
 were to be thus perverted, much less did he give
 any encouragement or permission to such flagrant
 abuses. His rule of discipline was neither fa-
 vourable to luxury nor ambition; and it is still

[g] See MABILLION, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sac. i.* and
Annules Ordin. Benedicti tom. 1. See also HELYORUS and the
 other writers, who have given accounts of the monastic orders.

celebrated on account of its excellence, though it has not been observed for many ages.

C E N T.
VI.
PART II.

It is proper to remark here, that the institution of BENEDICT changed, in several respects, the obligations and duties of the monastic life as it was regulated in the west. Among other things, he obliged those who entered into his order to promise, at the time of their being received as Novitiates, and afterwards, at their *admission* as members of the society, to persevere in an obedience to the rules he had laid down, without attempting to change them in any respect. As he was extremely solicitous about the stability of his institution, this particular regulation was wise and prudent; and it was so much the more necessary, that, before his time, the monks made no scruple of altering the laws and rules of their founders as often as they thought proper [b].

VII. This new order made a most rapid progress in the west, and, in a short space of time, arrived at the most flourishing state. In *Gaul*, its interests were promoted by MAURUS; in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, by PLACIDUS; in *England*, by AUGUSTIN and MILLITUS; in *Italy*, and other countries, by GREGORY the GREAT, who is himself reported to have been for some time a member of this society [i]; and it was afterwards received in *Germany* by the means of BONIFACE [k]. This

Its rapid
progress.

[b] See MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedi.* part I. p. 18.

[i] See MABILLON, *Diff. de vita Monastica Gregorii M. ad Hadr. Valesium*, tom. ii. *Analec. veter.* as also his *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedi.* p. 29. This circumstance however is denied by some writers; and among others, by GALLONUS, concerning whose book, upon that subject, see SIMON'S *Lettres Choissies*, tom. iii. p. 63.

[k] ANTON. DADINI ALTESERRÆ, *Origines rei Monasticæ*, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 33. The propagation of the Benedictine order, through the different provinces of Europe, is related by MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedictinum*, et *ad Sæc. iv. part I.* p. 62.

CENT. VI. PART II. sudden and amazing progress of the new order was ascribed by the Benedictines, to the wisdom and sanctity of their discipline, and to the miracles which were worked by their founder and his followers. But a more attentive view of things will convince the impartial observer, that the protection of the Roman pontiffs, to the advancement of whose grandeur and authority the Benedictines were most fervently devoted, contributed much more to the lustre and influence of their order, than any other circumstances, nay, than all other considerations united together. But, however universal their credit was, they did not reign alone; other orders subsisted in several places until the ninth century, when the Benedictin absorbed, indeed, all the other religious societies, and held, unrivalled, the reins of the monastic empire [1].

The principal Greek and Oriental writers.

VIII. The most celebrated Greek and Oriental writers that flourished in this century, were those which follow :

PROCOPIUS of *Gaza*, who interpreted successfully several books of scripture [m].

MAXENTIUS, a monk of *Antioch*, who, besides several treatises against the sects of his time, composed *Scholiums on Dionysius the Arcopagite*.

AGAPETUS, whose *Scheda Regi*, addressed to the emperor JUSTINIAN, procured him a place among the wisest and most judicious writers of this century.

EULOGIUS, a presbyter of *Antioch*, who was the terror of heretics, and a warm and strenuous defender of the orthodox faith.

[1] LENFANT, *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, tom. ii. p. 32, 33.

[m] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 197.

JOHN, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who, on account of his austere method of life, was surnamed the *FASTER*, and who acquired a certain degree of reputation by several little productions, and more particularly by his *Penitential*.

CENT.
VI
PART II.

LEONTIUS of *Byzantium*, whose book against the sects, and other writings, are yet extant.

EVAGRIUS, a scholastic writer, whose *Ecclesiastical History* is, in many places, corrupted with fabulous narrations.

ANASTATIUS of *Sinai*, whom most writers consider as the author of a trifling performance, written against a sort of heretics called *Acephali*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards [n].

IX. Among the Latin writers the following are principally worthy of mention :

Latin writers.

GREGORY the GREAT, bishop of *Rome*, who united the most inconsistent and contradictory qualities; as in some cases he discovered a sound and penetrating judgment, and in others the most shameful and superstitious weakness; and in general manifested an extreme aversion to all kinds of learning, as his *Epistles* and *Dialogues* sufficiently testify [o].

CÆSARIUS of *Arles*, who composed some moral writings, and drew up a rule of conduct and discipline for the *Holy Virgins* [p].

FULCENTIUS bishop of *Ruspina*, who attacked, with great warmth, the *Arians* and *Pelagians* in *Africa*; but whose style and manner were harsh

[n] See, for an account of this book, SIMON, l. c. tom. i. p. 232; also BARAT. *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 21.

[o] A splendid edition of the works of GREGORY was published at *Paris* in the year 1705, in four volumes folio, by father St. MARTHE, a Benedictin monk. See an account of this pontif, *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 121.

[p] Of this writer, the Benedictin monks have given a learned account in their *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. iii. p. 190.

and

C E N T. and uncouth, as was generally the case of the
VI
PART II. African writers [q].

ENNODIUS bishop of *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, who was none of the meanest authors of this century, whether we consider his compositions in prose or in verse; though he disgraced his talents, and dishonoured his eloquence, by his infamous adulation of the Roman pontif, whom he exalted so high above all mortals, as to maintain that he was answerable to none upon earth for his conduct, and subject to no human tribunal [r].

BENEDICT of *Nursia*, who acquired an immortal name, by the *rule* he laid down for the order which he instituted, and the multitude of religious societies that submitted to his discipline.

DIONYSIUS, who was surnamed the LITTLE, on account of his extraordinary humility, and was deservedly esteemed for his *Collection of the ancient canons*, and also for his *Chronological Researches*.

FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS, an African, who acquired a considerable degree of reputation by several treatises, but especially by his *Abriégement of the Canons*; though his style and diction were entirely destitute of harmony and elegance.

FACUNDUS, a strenuous defender of the *Three Chapters*, of which we shall give an account in their place.

ARATOR, who translated, with tolerable success, *The Acts of the Apostles*, into Latin verse.

PRIMASIUS of *Adrumetum*, whose *Commentary upon the Epistles of St. PAUL*, as also his book *Concerning heresies*, are yet extant.

LIBERATUS, whose *Compendious History of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies*, intitle him to

[q] See, for an account of FULGENTIUS, the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Januar. p. 32, &c.

[r] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 96.

an eminent rank among the writers of this century.

C E N T.
VI.
PART II.

FORTUNATUS, a man of various erudition, and whose poetic compositions are far from being destitute of genius [5].

GREGORY of *Tours*, who is esteemed the father of Gallic history; and who would have descended with honour to posterity, did not his *Annals of the Franks*, and the rest of his writings, carry so many marks of levity, credulity, and weakness [1].

GILDAS, the most ancient of the British writers, who composed a book *Concerning the destruction of Britain*, in which there are several things not altogether unworthy of the curiosity of the learned.

COLUMBANUS, a native of *Ireland*, who became famous on account of the monastic rules he prescribed to his followers, his zeal for establishing religious orders, and his poetical productions [u].

ISIDORE bishop of *Seville*, whose grammatical, theological, and historical productions discover more learning and pedantry, than judgment and taste.

We may conclude this enumeration of the Latin writers with the illustrious names of BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS, who far surpassed all their contemporaries in learning and knowledge; the former shone forth with the brightest lustre in the republic of letters, as a philosopher, an ora-

[5] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 464.

[1] The life of GREGORY of *Tours* is to be found in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*; and his faults are mentioned by PACI, in his *Dissert. de Dionysio Paris.* § 25. p. 6. which is added to the fourth tome of the *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* LAUNOIS defends this historian in many things in his works, tom. i. part II. p. 131.

[u] None have given more accurate accounts of GILDAS and COLUMBAN than the learned Benedictines, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 279. 505.

C E N T. VI.
P A R T II. **tor, a poet, and a divine, and both in elegance and subtilty of genius had no superior, nor indeed any equal in this century; the latter, though in many respects inferior to him, was nevertheless far from being destitute of merit[w]. Several productions of these writers have been transmitted down to our times.**

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the church during this century.

The increase of superstition.

I. WHEN once the ministers of the church had departed from the ancient simplicity of religious worship, and sullied the native purity of divine truth by a motley mixture of human inventions, it was difficult to set bounds to this growing corruption. Abuses were daily multiplied, and superstition drew from its horrid fecundity an incredible number of absurdities, which were added to the doctrine of CHRIST and his apostles. The controversial writers in the eastern provinces continued to render perplexed and obscure some of the principal doctrines of Christianity, by the subtle distinctions which they borrowed from a vain and chimerical philosophy. The public teachers and instructors of the people degenerated sadly from the apostolic character. They seemed to aim at nothing else, than to sink the multitude into the most opprobrious ignorance and superstition, to efface in their minds all sense of the beauty and excellence of genuine piety, and to substitute, in the place of religious principles, a blind veneration for the clergy, and

[w] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque de M. DU PIN*, tom. 1. p. 211.

a stupid zeal for a senseless round of ridiculous rites and ceremonies. This, perhaps, will appear less surprizing, when we consider, that *the blind led the blind*; for the public ministers and teachers of religion were, for the most part, grossly ignorant; nay, almost as much so as the multitude whom they were appointed to instruct.

II. To be convinced of the truth of the dismal representation we have here given of the state of religion at this time, nothing more is necessary than to cast an eye upon the doctrines now taught *concerning the worship of images and saints, the fire of purgatory, the efficacy of good works, i. e. the observance of human rites and institutions, towards the attainment of salvation, the power of relics to heal the diseases of body and mind*; and such like sordid and miserable fancies, which are inculcated in many of the superstitious productions of this century, and particularly in the epistles and other writings of GREGORY the GREAT. Nothing more ridiculous on the one hand, than the solemnity and liberality with which this good, but silly, pontif distributed the wonder-working relics; and nothing more lamentable on the other, than the stupid eagerness and devotion with which the deluded multitude received them, and suffered themselves to be persuaded, that a portion of stinking oil, taken from the lamps which burned at the tombs of the martyrs, had a supernatural efficacy to sanctify its possessors, and to defend them from 'all' dangers both of a temporal and spiritual nature [x].

Proved by
examples.

III. Several attempts were made in this century to lay down a proper and judicious method of explaining the scriptures. Of this nature were the two books of JUNILIUS the African,

The state of
exegetical
or explanatory
theology.
87.

[x] See the *List of sacred oils* which GREGORY the GREAT sent queen THEUDELLINDA, in the work of RUINARTUS, intitled, *Acta Marjrum sincera et selecta*, p. 619.

Concerning

C E N T. VI. *Concerning the various parts of the divine law* [y];
 PART II. a work destitute of precision and method, and
 by which it appears that the author had not sufficient knowledge and penetration for the task he undertook.

CASSIODORUS also, in his two books *Concerning the divine laws*, has delivered several rules for the right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

PHILOXENUS the Syrian translated, into his native language, the *Psalms of David*, and the *Books of the New Testament* [z].

The number of interpreters was considerable in this century. Those, who made the greatest figure among the Greeks in this character, were PROCOPIUS of Gaza, SEVERUS of Antioch, JULIAN, and a few others; the first was an expositor of no mean abilities [a]. The most eminent rank among the Latin commentators is due to GREGORY THE GREAT, CASSIODORUS, PRIMASIVS [b], ISIDORE OF Seville [c], and BELLATOR.

The defects
of these ex-
positors.

IV. It must, however, be acknowledged, that these writers scarcely deserve the name of expositors, if we except a small number of them, and among these the eastern NESTORIANS, who, following the example of THEODORE of Mopsuestia, were careful in exploring the true sense, and the native energy of the words employed in the Holy Scriptures. So that we may divide the commentators of this age into two classes. In the first,

[y] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque de Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 229.

[z] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANUS, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 83.

[a] See SIMON, *Lettres Choïses*, tom. iv. p. 120. of the new edition.

[b] SIMON, *Hist. Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* chap. xxiv. p. 337: as also his *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccl. de Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 226.

[c] SIMON, *Critique de la, &c. du M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 259.

we rank those who did nothing more than collect the opinions and interpretations which had been received by the ancient doctors of the church; which collections were afterwards called *chains* by the Latins [d]. Such was the *chain* of OLYMPIODORUS on JOB; the *chain* of VICTOR of Capua upon the *Four Gospels*; and the *commentary* of PRIMASIVS on the *Epistle to the Romans*, which was compiled from the works of AUGUSTIN, JEROME, AMBROSE, and others. Even PROCOPIUS of Gaza may be ranked in this class, though not with so much reason as the mere compilers now mentioned; since, in many cases, he has consulted the dictates of his own judgment, and not followed, with a servile and implicit submission, the voice of antiquity. To the *second* class belong those fanciful expositors, who, setting up ORIGEN as their great model, neglect and overlook entirely the sense of the words employed by the sacred writers, lose themselves in spiritual refinements and allegorical digressions, and, by the succour of a lively and luxuriant imagination, draw from the scriptures arguments in favour of every whim they have thought proper to adopt. Such was ANASTATIUS the Sinaite, whose *Mysterious contemplations upon the six days creation* [e], betray the levity and ignorance of their author; and GREGORY the GREAT,* whose *Moral observations upon the book of JOB*, have formerly met with unmerited commendations. Such also were ISIDORE of Seville, and PRIMASIVS, as manifestly appears by the *Book of Allegories upon the Holy Scriptures* [f], which was invented by the former, and

[d] See STEPH. LE MOYNE, *Prolegomena ad varia Sacra*, p. 53. JO. AUBERT. FAERICI *Biblioth. Græcæ*, lib. v. cap. xvii. or vol. vii. p. 727.

[e] The title is *Contemplationes Anagogicæ in Hexæmeron*.

[f] *Liber Allegoriarum in Scripturam Sacram*.

were called *schoolmen*, and their writings were afterwards characterised under the general term of *scholastic divinity*. CENT.
VI.
PART II.

A third class of theological teachers, very different from those already mentioned, comprehended a certain species of fanatics, who maintained that the knowledge of divine truth was only to be derived from inward feeling and mental contemplation. This class assumed the appellation of mystics. These three methods of deducing and unfolding the doctrines of the gospel have been transmitted down to our times. No writer of this century composed a judicious or complete system of divinity; though several branches of that sacred science were occasionally illustrated.

VI. Those who consecrated their pious labours to the advancement of practical religion and moral virtue, aimed at the fulfilling this good purpose, partly by laying down *precepts*, and partly by exhibiting edifying *examples*. They who promoted the cause of piety and virtue in the former way, modified their *precepts* according to the state and circumstances of the persons for whom they were designed. One sort of precepts were addressed to those who had not abandoned the connections of civil society, but lived amidst the hurry of worldly affairs. A different set of rules was administered to those who aspired after higher degrees of perfection, and lived in a retirement from the contagion and vanities of the world. The *precepts*, addressed to the former, represent the Christian life, as consisting in certain external virtues, and acts of religion; as appears from the *Homilies* and *Exhortations* of CASARIUS; the *Capita Parænetica* of AGAPETUS; and especially from the *Formula honestæ vitæ*, i. e. the *Summary of a virtuous life*, drawn up by MARTIN, archbi-

The state
of practical
religion and
virtue.

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

shop of Braga [b]. The rules administered to the latter sort of Christians, were more spiritual and sublime: they were exhorted to separate, as far as was possible, the soul from the body by divine contemplation; and for that purpose, to enervate and emaciate the latter by watching, fasting, perpetual prayer, and singing of psalms; as we find in the dissertation of FULGENTIUS, *upon fasting*, and those of NICETIUS, *Concerning the vigils of the servants of God*, and *the good effects of psalmody*. The Greeks adopted for their leader, in this mystic labyrinth, DIONYSIUS, falsely called the Areopagite, whose pretended writings JOHN of Scythopolis illustrated with annotations in this century. We need not be at any pains in pointing out the defects of these injudicious zealots; the smallest acquaintance with that rational religion, which is contained in the gospel, will be sufficient to open the eyes of the impartial upon the absurdities of that chimerical devotion we have now been describing.

The lives of
the saints.

VII. They who enforced the duties of Christianity, by exhibiting *examples* of piety and virtue to the view of those for whom their instructions were designed, wrote, for this purpose, the *Lives of the saints*; and there was a considerable number of this kind of biographers both among the Greeks and Latins. ENNODIUS, EUGIPIUS, CYRIL of Scythopolis, DIONYSIUS the Little, COGITOSUS, and others, are to be ranked in this class. But, however pious the intentions of these biographers may have been, it must be acknowledged, that they executed it in a most contemptible manner. No models of rational piety are to be found among those pretended worthies, whom they propose to Christians as objects of imitation. They amuse their readers with gigan-

[b] See the *Acta Sanctor. Martii*, tom. iii. p. 86.

tic fables and trifling romances; the examples they exhibit are those of certain delirious *fanatics*, whom they call *saints*, men of a corrupt and perverted judgment, who offered violence to reason and nature by the horrors of an extravagant austerity in their own conduct, and by the severity of those singular and inhuman rules which they prescribed to others. For, by what means were these men *sainted*? By starving themselves with a frantic obstinacy, and bearing the useless hardships of hunger, thirst, and inclement seasons, with steadfastness and perseverance; by running about the country like madmen in tattered garments, and sometimes half-naked, or shutting themselves up in a narrow space, where they continued motionless; by standing for a long time in certain postures, with their eyes closed, in the enthusiastic expectation of divine light. All this was saint-like and glorious; and the more that any ambitious fanatic departed from the dictates of reason and common sense, and counterfeited the wild gestures and the incoherent conduct of an idiot, or a lunatic, the surer was his prospect of obtaining an eminent rank among the heroes and demigods of a corrupt and degenerate church.

VIII. Many writers laboured with diligence to terminate the reigning controversies, but none with success. Nor shall we be much surprised, that these efforts were ineffectual, when we consider how they were conducted; for scarcely can we name a single writer, whose opposition to the Eutychians, Nestorians, and Pelagians, was carried on with probity, moderation, or prudence. PRIMASIVS and PHILOPONUS wrote concerning all the sects, but their works are lost; the treatise of LEONTIUS, upon the same extensive subject, is still extant, but is scarcely worth perusing. ISIDORE of *Seville*, and LEONTIVS of *Neapolis*, disputed against the Jews, but with what success and

C E N T.
VI.
PART II.Polemie
divinity.

CENT. VI. dexterity will be easily imagined by those who are
 PART II. acquainted with the learning and logic of these
 times. We omit, therefore, any further men-
 tion of the miserable disputants of this century,
 from a persuasion that it will be more useful and
 entertaining to lay before the reader a brief ac-
 count of the controversies that now divided and
 troubled the Christian church.

The con-
 troversies
 concerning
 Origen and
 his doctrine,
 renewed.

IX. Though the credit of ORIGEN, and his
 system, seemed to lie expiring under the blows it
 had received from the zeal of the orthodox, and
 the repeated thunder of synods and councils, yet
 it was very far from being totally sunk. On the
 contrary, this great man, and his doctrine, were
 held by many, and especially by the monks, in
 the highest veneration, and cherished with a kind
 of enthusiasm which became boundless and ex-
 travagant. In the west, BELLATOR translated the
 works of ORIGEN into the Latin language. In
 the eastern provinces, and particularly in Syria
 and Palestine, which were the principal seats of
 Origenism, the monks, seconded by several bi-
 shops, and chiefly by THEODORE of Caesarea in
 Cappadocia, defended the truth and authority of
 the doctrines of ORIGEN against all his adversaries
 with incredible vehemence and contention of
 mind [i]. The cause was, at length, brought
 before JUSTINIAN, who, in a long and verbose
 edict, addressed to MENNAS patriarch of Constan-
 tinople [k], passed a severe condemnation upon
 ORIGEN and his doctrine, and ordered it to be
 entirely suppressed [l]. The effects of this edict

were

[i] CYRILLUS, *Scythopolis*, in *Vita Sabæ*, which is to be
 found in COTELERIUS, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, p. 370.
 HENR. NORIS, *Dissertat. de Synodo Quinta*, cap. i. ii. p. 554.
 tom. i. opp.

[k] This edict is published in HARDUIN's *Concilia*, tom.
 iii. p. 243.

[l] This edict was procured by the solicitation of PELA-
 GIUS, who was legate of VIGILIUS at the court of Con-
 stantinople

were more violent than durable; for, upon the breaking out of the controversy concerning the *three chapters* [m], soon after this time, Origenism was not only revived in *Palestine*, but even recovered new vigour, and spread itself far and wide. Hence many commotions were raised in the church, which were, however, terminated by the fifth general council, assembled at *Constantinople* by JUSTINIAN, A. D. 533, and in which ORIGEN and his followers were again condemned [n].

X. This controversy produced another, which continued much longer, was carried on with still more excessive degrees of animosity and violence, and the subject of which was of much less moment and importance. The emperor JUSTINIAN was eagerly bent upon extirpating that violent branch of the Monophysites, which was distinguished by the name of Acephali; and consulted, upon this matter, THEODORE bishop of *Cæsarea*, who was a Monophysite, and, at the same time, extremely attached to the doctrine of ORIGEN. The artful prelate considered this as a favourable opportunity of procuring repose to the followers of ORIGEN by exciting a new controversy, as also of casting a reproach upon the council of *Chalcedon*, and giving a mortal blow to the Nestorians

The controversy concerning the three chapters.

Constantinople, with a view to confound the Acephali, who were admirers of ORIGEN, and particularly to vex THEODORE, of whose credit with the Emperor, PELAGIUS was extremely jealous. It was to return this affront, as well as to effect the purposes mentioned in the following section, that THEODORE set on foot the controversy concerning the *three chapters*, which produced such tedious, cruel, and fatal dissensions in the church. See BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. x. ch. vi. p. 520.

[m] For an explication of what is meant by the *three chapters*, see note [o] of the Xth section.

[n] See HARDUIN *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 283. EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. BASNAGE, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, livr. x. chap. vi. p. 517, &c. PET. DAN. HUET *Origénisme*, lib. ii. 224. DOUCIN's *Singular. Diff.* which is subjoined to his *Hystoria Origeniana*, p. 345.

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

and their cause. In order, therefore, to effect these three important purposes, he persuaded the emperor that the Acephali would return to the bosom of the church, under the following easy and reasonable conditions; namely, "That those passages in the acts of the council of *Chalcedon*, in which THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*, THEODORET of *Cyrus*, and IBAS of *Edeffa*, had been pronounced orthodox, should be effaced; and that the productions of these prelates, which were known by the appellation of the *three chapters* [o], as also other writings of theirs, which discovered a manifest propensity towards the Nestorian errors, should be condemned and prohibited." The emperor lent a propitious ear to the counsels of this prelate; and, by an edict published A. D. 544, ordered the *three chapters* to be condemned and effaced, without any prejudice, however, to the authority of the council of *Chalcedon* [p]. This edict was warmly opposed by the African and western bishops, and particularly by VIGILIUS, the Roman pontif, who considered it as highly injurious not only to the authority of the council now mentioned, but also

[o] The pieces, that were distinguished by the appellation of the *three chapters*, were, 1. The writings of THEODORE of *Mopsuestia*. 2. The books which THEODORET of *Cyrus* wrote against the *twelve Anathemas*, which CYRIL had published against the Nestorians. 3. The letter which IBAS of *Edeffa* had written to one MARISA Persian, concerning the council of *Ephesus* and the condemnation of NESTORIUS. These writings were supposed to favour the Nestorian doctrine, and such, indeed, was their tendency. It is however to be observed, that THEODORE of *Mopsuestia* lived before the time of NESTORIUS, and died not only in the communion of the church, but also in the highest reputation for his sanctity. Nor were the writings of the other two either condemned or censured by the council of *Chalcedon*; nay, the faith of THEODORET and IBAS was there declared entirely orthodox. The decision of the council of *Constantinople*, in opposition to this, shews that councils, as well as doctors, differ.

[p] See HARDUIN *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 287. EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. p. 412.

to the memory of those holy men whose writings and characters it covered with reproach [q]. Upon this, JUSTINIAN ordered VIGILIUS to repair immediately to *Constantinople*, that, having him in his power, he might compel him with more facility to a quiesce in the edict, and reject the *three chapters*; and this method was attended with success, for the pontif yielded. On the other hand, the bishops of *Africa* and *Illyricum* obliged VIGILIUS to retract his *judicatum*, by which, in a council of seventy bishops, he had condemned the *three chapters* in obedience to the emperor. For they separated themselves from the communion of this pope, and refused to acknowledge him as one of their brethren; nay, treated him as an apostate, until he approved what he had been obliged to condemn. The effect of this retraction redoubled the zeal and violence of JUSTINIAN, who, by a second edict, published A. D. 551, condemned anew the *three chapters*.

XI. After many cabals, commotions, and dissensions, which were occasioned by this trifling controversy, it was thought proper to submit the final decision of it to an assembly of the universal church. This assembly was accordingly summoned, by JUSTINIAN, to meet at *Constantinople*, A. D. 553, and is considered as the *fifth œcumenical*, or *general council*. The emperor gained his point here: for, besides the doctrines of ORIGEN [r], the *three chapters*, the condemnation of which

The œcumenical council.

[q] HEN. MORIS, *De synodo quinta*, cap. 10. p. 579. tom. i. opp. BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. livr. x. cap. vi. p. 523.

[r] We do not find in the *acts* of this council any one which condemns the doctrines of ORIGEN. It is however generally imagined, that these doctrines were condemned by this assembly; and what gave rise to this notion was probably the xy Greek canons yet extant, in which the principal errors of ORIGEN are condemned, and which are entitled the canons of the 160 fathers assembled in the council of *Constantinople*. The tenets of ORIGEN, which gave the most offence, were the

C E N T. which he had solely in view, were, by the bishops
 VI. of the east (for there were very few western pre-
 PART II. lates present at this council), declared heretical and pernicious. VIGILIUS, who was now at *Constantinople*, refused his assent to the decrees of this council; for which reason, after having received various affronts, he was sent into exile, from whence he was not permitted to return before he had acquiesced in the decisions of this assembly [s]; and, changing his sentiments for the fourth time, had declared the opinions contained in the *three chapters* to be execrable blasphemies. His successor PELAGIUS, and all the Roman pontiffs that have since lolled in the papal chair, adhered to the decrees of this council; but neither their authority, nor that of the emperor, could prevail upon the western bishops to follow their example in this respect. Many of these, on the contrary, carried matters so far as to separate themselves from the communion of the pope on this account; and the divisions, that arose from hence in the church, were too violent to admit of an expeditious or easy reconciliation, and could only be healed by length of time [t].

XII. An-

the following · 1. That, in the Trinity, the *Father* is greater than the *Son*, and the *Son* than the Holy Ghost. 2. The *pre-existence* of souls, which ORIGEN considered as sent into mortal bodies for the punishment of sins committed in a former state of being. 3. That the *soul* of CHRIST was united to the *word* before the incarnation. 4. That the sun, moon, and stars, &c. were animated and endowed with rational souls. 5. That after the resurrection all bodies will be of a round figure. 6. That the torments of the damned will have an end; and that, as Christ had been crucified in this world to save mankind, he is to be crucified in the next to save the devils.

[s] See PETR. DE MARCA, *Dissert. de de. . . Aulii pro confirmatione Synodi V.* which is to be found among the *Disser-tations* subjoined to his learned work, *De concordia sacerdoti. et imperii.*

[t] The best account of this matter is to be found in NORIS, *De synodo quinta aecumenica*, though even this excellent author cannot

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

XII. Another controversy of much more importance had been carried on before this period among the Greeks; it was first kindled in the year 519, and it arose upon the following question: *Whether it could be said, with propriety, that ONE OF THE TRINITY suffered on the Cross?* This was designed to embarrass the Nestorians, who seemed to separate too much the two natures in CHRIST; and the Scythian monks, who seconded this design, and to whom the rise of this controversy is principally to be imputed, maintained the affirmative of this nice and difficult question. Others asserted, on the contrary, that this manner of speaking was by no means to be adopted, since it bordered upon the erroneous expressions and tenets of the Theopaschites, who composed one of the sects into which the Eutychians were subdivided [u]. This latter opinion was confirmed by HORMISDAS the Roman pontif, to whom the Scythian monks had appealed in vain; but this, instead of allaying the heat of the present controversy, only added new fuel to the flame. JOHN II. who was one of the successors of HORMISDAS, approved the proposition which the latter had condemned; and confirming the opinion of the Scythian monks, exposed the decisions of the papal oracle to the laughter of the wise; his sentence was afterwards approved by the fifth general council; and thus peace was restored in the

The question, whether one of the Trinity may be said to have suffered? debated.

cannot be vindicated from the imputation of a certain degree of partiality. See also CHRIST. LUPUS, *Not. ad concilium quintum*, in his *ad concilia Adnotat.*

[u] The deacon VICTOR, and those who opposed the Scythian monks, expressed their opinion in the following proposition: viz. *One PERSON of the Trinity suffered in the flesh.* Both sides, received the council of Chalcedon, acknowledged *two natures* in CHRIST, in opposition to EUTYCHES; and only one: in opposition to NESTORIUS; and yet, by a torrent of jargon, and a long chain of unintelligible syllogisms, the Scythian monks accused their adversaries of Nestorianism, and were accused by them of the Eutychian heresy.

church

G E N T. church by the conclusion of these unintelligible
 V_i
 PART II. disputes [w].

With the question now mentioned, there was another closely and intimately connected, namely, *Whether the PERSON of CHRIST could be considered as COMPOUNDED?* Of this question the Scythian monks maintained the affirmative, and their adversaries the negative.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Rites multiplied.

I N this century the cause of true religion sunk apace, and the gloomy reign of superstition extended itself in proportion to the decay of genuine piety. This lamentable decay was supplied by a multitude of rites and ceremonies. In the east the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies gave occasion to the invention of various rites and external institutions, which were used as marks to distinguish from each other the contending parties. The western churches were loaded with rites by GREGORY the GREAT, who had a marvellous fecundity of genius in inventing, and an irresistible force of eloquence in recommending superstitious observances. Nor will this appear surprising to those who knew, that, in the opinion of this pontiff, the words of the sacred writings were *images* of mysterious and invisible

[w] See NORISII *Historia controversiæ de unitate ex Trinitate passa*, tom. iii. opp. p. 771. The ancient writer who mentions this controversy, calls the monks, who set it on foot, Scythians. But LA CROZE, in his *Thesaur. Epist.* tom. iii. prescribes, that the country of these monks was Egypt, and not Scythia, and this conjecture is supported by reasons which carry in them, at least, a high degree of probability.

things:

things; for such as embrace this chimerical system will easily be led to express all the doctrines and precepts of religion by external rites and symbols. GREGORY, indeed, is worthy of praise in this, that he did not pretend to force others to the observance of his inventions; though this, perhaps, was as much owing to a want of power, as to a principle of moderation.

II. This prodigious augmentation of rites and ceremonies rendered an augmentation of doctors and interpreters of these mysteries indispensably necessary. Hence a new kind of science arose, which had, for its object, the explication of these ceremonies, and the investigation of the causes and circumstances from whence they derived their origin. But the most of those, who entered into these researches, never went to the fountain-head, to the true sources of these idle inventions. They endeavoured to seek their origin in reason and Christianity; but in this they deceived themselves, or, at least deluded others, and delivered to the world their own fancies, instead of letting them into the true causes of things. Had they been acquainted with the opinions and customs of remote antiquity, or studied the pontifical law of the Greeks and Romans, they had come at the true origin of many institutions, which were falsely looked upon as venerable and sacred.

III. The public worship of God was as yet celebrated by every nation in its own language; but was enlarged, from time to time, by the addition of various hymns, and other things of that nature, which were considered as proper to enliven devotion by the power of novelty. GREGORY the GREAT prescribed a new method of administering the Lord's supper, with a magnificent assemblage of pompous ceremonies; this institution of his was called the *canon of the mass*; and, if any are unwilling to give it the name of a new appoint-

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

The occasions of them investigated.

Public worship.

The administration of the eucharist.

C E N T. VI. appointment, they must, at least, acknowledge
P A R T II. that it was a considerable augmentation of the
ancient canon for celebrating the eucharist, and
occasioned a remarkable change in the administration of that ordinance. Many ages, however, passed before this *Gregorian canon* was adopted by all the Latin churches [x].

Baptism.

Baptism, except in cases of necessity, was administered only on great festivals. We omit mentioning, for the sake of brevity, the Litanies that were addressed to the saints, the different sorts of supplications, the *stations*, or assemblies of GREGORY, the forms of consecration, and other such institutions, which were contrived, in this century, to excite a species of external devotion, and to engage the outward senses in religious worship. An enquiry into these matters would of itself deserve to be made the subject of a separate work.

IV. There was an incredible number of temples erected in honour of the saints, during this century, both in the eastern and western provinces. The places set apart for public worship were already very numerous; but it was now that Christians first began to consider these sacred edifices, as the means of purchasing the favour and protection of the saints, and to be persuaded that these departed spirits defended and guarded, against evils and calamities of every kind, the provinces, lands, cities, and villages, in which they were honoured with temples. The number of these temples were almost equaled by that of the festivals, which were now observed in the Christian church, and many of which seem to have been instituted upon a Pagan model. To those that were celebrated in the preceding century, were now added the festival of the *purification of the blessed Virgin*, invented with a design

[x] See THEOD. CHR. LILIENTHAL, *De canone missæ Gregoriano*.

to remove the uneasiness of the heathen converts on account of the lots of their *lupercalia*, or feasts of PAN, which had been formerly observed in the month of February, the festival of the *immaculate conception*, the day set apart to commemorate the birth of St. JOHN, and others less worthy of mention.

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

I. THE various sects which had fomented divisions among Christians in the early ages of the church, were far from being effectually suppressed or totally extirpated. Though they had been persecuted and afflicted with an infinite diversity of trials and calamities, yet they still subsisted, and continued to excite dissensions and tumults in many places. The Manicheans are said to have gained such a degree of influence among the Persians, as to have corrupted even the son of CABADES, the monarch of that nation, who repaid their zeal in making profelytes with a terrible massacre, in which numbers of that impious sect perished in the most dreadful manner. Nor was *Persia* the only country which was troubled with the attempts of the Manicheans to spread their odious doctrine; other provinces of the empire were, undoubtedly, infected with their errors, as we may judge from the book that was written against them by HERACLIAN bishop of *Chalcedon* [y]. In *Gaul* and *Africa*, dissensions of a different kind prevailed; and the controversy between the Semi-Pelagians and the disciples

The remains of the ancient heresies.

Manicheans.

Semi-Pelagians.

[y] See PROTIUS, *Biblioth. Cod.* cxiv. p. 291.

CENT. VI. of AUGUSTIN continued to divide the western
PART II. churches.

Donatists.

II. The Donatists enjoyed the sweets of freedom and tranquillity, as long as the Vandals reigned in *Africa*; but the scene was greatly changed with respect to them, when the empire of these Barbarians was overturned in the year 534. They, however, still remained in a separate body, and not only held their church, but, towards the conclusion of this century, and particularly from the year 591, defended themselves with new degrees of animosity and vigour, and were bold enough to attempt the multiplication of their sect. GREGORY, the Roman pontif, opposed these efforts with great spirit and assiduity; and as appears from his epistles [z], tried various methods of depressing this faction, which was pluming its wings anew, and menacing the revival of those lamentable divisions which it had formerly excited in the church. Nor was the opposition of the zealous pontif without effect; it seems on the contrary to have been attended with the desired success, since, in this century, the church of the Donatists dwindled away to nothing, and after this period no traces of it are any where to be found.

Arians.

III. Towards the commencement of this century, the Arians were triumphant in several parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*. Many of the Asiatic bishops favoured them secretly, while their opinions were openly professed, and their cause maintained, by the Vandals in *Africa*, the Goths in *Italy*, the Spaniards, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the greatest part of the Gauls. It is true, the Greeks, who had received the decrees of the council of *Nice*, persecuted and oppressed the

[z] See his *Epistles*, lib. iv. *ep.* xxxiv, xxxv. p. 714, 715. lib. vi. *ep.* lxxv. p. 841. *ep.* xxxvii. p. 821. lib. ix. *ep.* liii. p. 972. lib. ii. *ep.* xlviii. p. 611. tom. ii. opp.

Arians wherever their influence and authority could reach; but the Nicenians, in their turn, were not less rigorously treated by their adversaries, particularly in *Africa* and *Italy*, where they felt, in a very severe manner, the weight of the Arian power, and the bitterness of their resentment [a].

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

The triumphs of Arianism were, however, but transitory; and its prosperous days were entirely eclipsed, when the Vandals were driven out of *Africa*, and the Goths out of *Italy*, by the arms of JUSTINIAN [b]. For the other Arian princes were easily induced to abandon, themselves, the doctrine of that sect; and not only so, but to employ the force of laws and the authority of councils to prevent its further progress among their subjects, and to extirpate it entirely out of their dominions. Such was the conduct of SIGISMUND king of the Burgundians; THEODIMIR king of the Suevi, who had settled in *Lusitania*; and RECCARLD king of *Spain*. Whether the change wrought in these princes was owing to the force of reason and argument, or to the influence of hopes and fears, is a question which we shall not pretend to determine. One thing, however, is certain; and that is, that, from this period, the Arian sect declined apace, and could never after recover any considerable degree of stability and consistence.

IV. The Nestorians, after having gained a firm footing in *Persia*, and established the patriarch, or head; of their sect at *Seleucia*, extended their

The state of
the Nesto-
rians.

[a] PROCOPIUS, *De bello Vandal.* lib. i. cap. viii. and *De bello Gothico*, lib. ii. cap. ii. EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iv. cap. xv.

[b] See MASCOVIN *Historia German.* tom. ii. p. 76, 91. See also an account of the Barbarian kings, who abandoned Arianism, and received the doctrines of the Nicene council, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Martii, p. 275, and April. p. 134.

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

views further, and spread their doctrines, with a success equal to the ardour of their zeal, through the provinces that lay beyond the limits of the Roman empire. There are yet extant authentic records, from which it appears, that, throughout all Persia, as also in India, Armenia, Arabia, Syria, and other countries, there were vast numbers of Nestorian churches, all under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Seleucia [c]. It is true, indeed, that the Persian monarchs were not all equally favourable to this growing sect, and that some of them even persecuted, with the utmost severity, all those who bore the Christian name throughout their dominions [d]; but it is also true, that such of these princes, as were disposed to exercise moderation and benignity towards the Christians, were much more indulgent to the Nestorians, than to their adversaries who adhered to the council of Ephesus, since the latter were considered as spies employed by the Greeks, with whom they were connected by the ties of religion.

Eutychian
controversies.

V. The Monophysites, or Eutychians, flourished also in this century, and had gained over to their doctrine a considerable part of the eastern provinces. The emperor ANASTASIUS was warmly attached to the doctrine and sect of the Acephali, who were reckoned among the more rigid Monophysites [e]; and, in the year 513, created patriarch of Antioch, in the room of FLAVIAN whom he had expelled from that see, SEVERUS, a learned

[c] COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, *Topographie Christianæ*, lib. ii. p. 125. which is to be found in MONTFAUCON'S *Collectio nova PP. Græcorum*.

[d] JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. part I. p. 109. 407. 411. 441. 449. tom. iii. part II. cap. v. § 2. p. 83.

[e] EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iii. cap. xxx. xlv, &c. THEODORUS the Reader, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. ii. p. 562. See also the *Index operum SEVERI*, as it stands collected from ancient MSS. in MONTFAUCON'S *Bibliotheca Constantiniana*, p. 53.

monk

monk of *Palestine*, from whom the Monophysites were called Severians [f]. This emperor exerted all his influence and authority to destroy the credit of the council of *Chalcedon* in the east, and to maintain the cause of those who adhered to the doctrine of *one nature* in CHRIST; and, by the ardour and vehemence of his zeal, he excited the most deplorable seditions and tumults in the church [g]. After the death of ANASTASIUS, which happened A. D. 518, SEVERUS was expelled in his turn; and the sect which the late emperor had maintained and propagated with such zeal and assiduity, was every where opposed and depressed by his successor JUSTIN, and the following emperors, in such a manner, that it seemed to be upon the very brink of ruin, notwithstanding that it had created SERGIUS patriarch in the place of SEVERUS [h].

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

VI. When the affairs of the Monophysites were in such a desperate situation, that almost all hope of their recovery was vanished, and their bishops were reduced, by death and imprisonment, to a very small number, an obscure man, whose name was JACOB, and who was distinguished from others so called, by the surname of BARADÆUS, or ZANZALUS, restored this expiring sect to its former prosperity and lustre [i]. This poor monk, the

Jacob Baradæus the restorer of the Monophysites.

[f] See JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 47. 321. EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Histoire Patriarch. Alexandrinor.* p. 127. 129. 130. 135. 138, &c.

[g] EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. iii. cap. xxxiii. CYRILLUS, *Vita Saxe* in JO. BAPT. COTTEIERII *Monument. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 312. BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article ANASTASIUS.

[h] See ABUL'HARAH *Series Patriarch Antiochen.* in ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient.* &c. tom. ii. p. 323.

[i] See ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient.* &c. tom. ii. cap. viii. p. 62. 72. 326. 331. 414. LUSFBI RENAUD *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 119. 133. 425. and the *Liturgie Orient.* tom. ii. p. 342. FALSTUS NAIPONUS, *Euoplia fidei Catholice ex Syrorum monumentis*, part I. p. 40. 41.

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

grandeur of whose views was much above the obscurity of his station, and whose fortitude and patience no dangers could daunt, nor any labours exhaust, was ordained to the episcopal office by a handful of captive bishops, travelled on foot through the whole east, established bishops and presbyters every where, revived the drooping spirits of the Monophysites, and produced such an astonishing change in their affairs by the power of his eloquence, and by his incredible activity and diligence, that when he died bishop of *Edess*, A. D. 588, he left his sect in a most flourishing state in *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Egypt*, *Nubia*, *Abyssinia*, and other countries [k]. This dexterous monk had prudence to contrive the means of success, as well as activity to put them in execution; for he almost totally extinguished all the animosities, and reconciled all the factions, that had divided the Monophysites; and when their churches grew so numerous in the east, that they could not all be conveniently comprehended under the sole jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Antioch*, he appointed, as his assistant, the primate of the east, whose residence was at *Tagritis*, on the borders of *Armenia* [l]. The laborious efforts of JACOB were seconded in *Egypt*, and the adjacent countries, by THEODOSIUS bishop of *Alexandria*; and he became so famous, that all the Monophysites of the east considered him as their second parent and founder, and are to this day called Jacobites in honour of their new chief.

[k] Concerning the Nubians and Abyssinians, see ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. &c.* tom. ii. p. 330 Lobo, *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, tom. ii. p. 36. LUDOLPH. *Commentar. ad Historiam Ethiopicam*, p. 451. 461. 466.

[l] ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. 410. 414. 418. See also this learned writer's *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, which is prefixed to the second volume of the work now cited.

VII. Thus

VII. Thus it happened, that, by the imprudent zeal and violence which the Greeks employed in defending the truth, the Monophysites gained considerable advantages, and, at length, obtained a solid and permanent settlement. From this period their sect has been under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, who, notwithstanding the difference of opinion which subsists, with respect to some points, between the Syrian and Egyptian Monophysites, are extremely careful to maintain communion with each other both by letters and by the exchange of good offices. The primate of the Abyssines is subject to the patriarch of *Alexandria*; and the primate of the east, who resides at *Tagritis*, is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Antioch*. The Armenians are ruled by a bishop of their own, and are distinguished by certain opinions and rites from the rest of the Monophysites.

C E N T
VI.
PART II.

The state of
the Mono-
physites.

VIII. The sect of the Monophysites, before it was thus happily established, was torn with factions and intestine disputes, and suffered, in a particular manner, from that nice and subtle controversy concerning *the body of CHRIST*, which was kindled at *Alexandria*. JULIAN, bishop of *Halicarnassus*, affirmed, A. D. 519, that the divine nature had so insinuated itself into the body of CHRIST, from the very moment of the Virgin's conception, that the body of our Lord changed its nature, and became *incorruptible*. This opinion was also embraced by CAIANUS, bishop of *Alexandria*: from whom those who adopted it were called Caianists. They were, however, divided into three sects, two of which debated this question, Whether the body of CHRIST was *created* or *increated*? While the third asserted, that our Lord's body was indeed corruptible, but never actually corrupted, since the energy of the divine nature must have prevented its dissolution.

Controversies among
the Mono-
physites.

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

This sect was warmly opposed by SEVERUS of Antioch, and DAMIANUS, who maintained that the body of CHRIST, before his resurrection, was truly corruptible, i. e. subject to the affections and changes with which human nature is generally attended. Those who embraced the opinion of JULIAN, were called Aphthartodocetæ, Docetæ, Phantasiasts, and even Manicheans, because it was supposed to follow from their hypothesis; that CHRIST did not suffer in reality, but only in appearance, hunger and thirst, pain and death; and that he did not actually assume the common affections and properties of human nature. On the other hand, the votaries of SEVERUS were distinguished by the names Phthartolatæ, Ktulolatæ, and Creaticolæ. This miserable controversy was carried on with great warmth under the reign of JUSTINIAN, who favoured the Aphthartodocetæ; soon after, it subsided gradually; and, at length, was happily hushed in silence [m]. XENAIAS of Hierapolis struck out an hypothesis upon this knotty matter, which seemed equally remote from those of the contending parties; for he maintained that CHRIST had, indeed, truly suffered the various sensations to which humanity is exposed; but that he suffered them not in his nature, but by a submissive act of his will [n].

The Ag-
noetæ.

IX. Some of the Corrupticolæ (for so they were called who looked upon the body of CHRIST to be corruptible), particularly THEMISTIUS, a deacon of Alexandria, and THEODOSIUS, a bishop of that city, were carried by the inconsiderate heat

[m] TIMOTHÆUS, *De receptione hæreticorum in COTELERII Monumentis Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 409. LIBERATUS, in *Breviario Controv.* cap. xx. FORBESII *Instructiones in præceptis Theologicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xviii. p. 108. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. part II. 457.

[n] ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticanæ.* tom. ii. p. 22. and 168.

of controversy into another opinion, which produced new commotions in the church towards the conclusion of this century. They affirmed, that to the divine nature of CHRIST all things were known; but that from his human nature many things were concealed. The rest of the sect charged the authors of this opinion with imputing ignorance to the divine nature of CHRIST; since they held, in common with them, that there was but one nature in the Son of God. Hence the votaries of this new doctrine were called Agnoëtæ [o]; but their sect was so weak and ill-supported, that, notwithstanding their eloquence and activity, which seemed to promise better success, it gradually declined, and came to nothing.

X. From the controversies with the Monophysites arose the sect of the Tritheists, whose chief was JOHN ASCUSNAGE, a Syrian philosopher, and at the same time a Monophysite [p]. This man imagined in the Deity three natures, or substances, absolutely equal in all respects, and joined together by no common *essence*; to which opinion his adversaries gave the name of Tritheism. One of the warmest defenders of this doctrine was JOHN PHILOPONUS, an Alexandrian philosopher and grammarian of the highest reputation; and hence he has been considered by many as the author of this sect, whose members have consequently derived from him the title of Philoponists [q].

The Tri-
theists.

[o] JO. BAPT. COTELERIUS, *Ad Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 641. MICH. LE QUIEN, *Ad Damascenum de hæresibus*, tom. i. p. 107. FORBES, *Institution. Historico-Theolog.* lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 119. PHOTIUS, *Biblioth. Cod.* ccxxx. p. 882.

[p] See GREGOR. ABULPHARMIUS, in ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 328.

[q] See FABRICII *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. v. cap. xxxvii. p. 358. HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1288. TIMOTHEUS, *De receptione hæreticorum in COTELERII Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. iii. p. 414. JO. DAMASCENUS, *De hæresibus*, tom. i. opp. p. 103. edit. Le Quien.

CENT.
VI.
PART II.

This sect was divided into two parties, the Philoponists and the Cononites; the latter of whom were so called from CONON bishop of *Tarsus*, their chief [r]. They agreed in the doctrine of *three persons* in the Godhead, and differed only in their manner of explaining what the scriptures taught concerning the resurrection of the body. PHILOPONUS maintained that the *form*, as well as the *matter*, of all bodies was *generated* and *corrupted*, and that both therefore were to be restored in the resurrection. CONON held, on the contrary, that the body never lost its *form*: that its *matter* alone was subject to corruption and decay, and was consequently to be restored when *this mortal shall put on immortality*.

A third faction was that of the DAMIANISTS, who were so called from DAMIAN bishop of *Alexandria*, and whose opinion concerning the Trinity was different from those already mentioned. They distinguished the *divine essence* from the *three persons*, viz. the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. They denied that each person was God, when considered in itself and abstractedly from the other two; but they affirmed, at the same time, that there was a *common divinity*, by the joint participation of which each person was God. They therefore called the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *hypostases*, or *persons*, and the *Godhead*, which was common to them all, *substance* or *nature* [s].

[r] PHOTII *Biblioth. Cod.* xxiv. ASSEMAN. *Eiblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 329.

[s] JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 78. 332, &c.

T H E
S E V E N T H C E N T U R Y .

P A R T I .
The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I .

*Concerning the prosperous events which happened to
the church during this century.*

I N this century, the progress of Christianity C E N T .
VII.
P A R T I .
was mightily accelerated both in the eastern and western hemispheres, and its divine light was diffused far and wide through the darkened nations. The Nestorians, who dwelt in *Syria, Persia, and India*, contributed much to its propagation in the east, by the zeal and diligence, the laborious efforts and indefatigable assiduity, with which they preached it to these fierce and barbarous nations, who lived in the remotest borders and deserts of *Asia*, and among whom, as we learn from authentic records, their ministry was crowned with remarkable success. It was by the labours of this sect, that the light of the gospel first penetrated into the immense empire of *China*, about the year 637, when *JLSUIADAS* of *Gadala* was at the head of the Nestorians, as will appear probable to those who look upon as genuine the famous Chinese monument, which was discovered at

The Christian religion introduced into *China*.

CENT. VII. Siganfu, by the Jesuits during the last century [a].
 PART I. Some, indeed, look upon this monument to be
 a mere forgery of the Jesuits, though, perhaps,
 without reason; there are, however, other un-
 exceptionable proofs, that the northern parts of
 China, even before this century, abounded with
 Christians, who, for many succeeding ages, were
 under the inspection of a Metropolitan sent them
 by the Chaldean or Nestorian patriarch [b].

II. The

[a] This celebrated monument has been published and explained by several learned writers, particularly by KIPCHER, in his *China illustrata*, p. 53; by MULLER, in a treatise published at Berlin in 1672; by EUSEBE RENAUDOT, in his *Relations anciennes des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Maronites*, p. 223—271, published at Paris in the year 1718, in 8vo; and by ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. iii. pars II. cap. iv. § 7. p. 538. We were promised a still more accurate edition of this famous monument by the learned THEOPH. SIGIFRED BAYER, the greatest proficient of this age in Chinese erudition; but his death has blasted our expectations. For my part, I see no reason to doubt of the genuineness of this monument, nor can I understand what advantage could redound to the Jesuits from the invention of such a fable. See LIRON, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. ii. p. 500.

[b] See RENAUDOT, l. c. p. 56 68, &c. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. &c.* cap. iv. p. 522: the learned BAYER, in his Preface to his *Museum Sinicum*, p. 84, assures us, that he has in his hands such proofs of the truth of what is here affirmed, as puts the matter beyond all doubt. See on this subject a very learned dissertation published by M. DE GUIGNES in the xxxth vol. of the *Memoires de Litterature tirés des Registres de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, in which he proves that the Christians were settled in China so early as the VIIIth Century. He remarks, indeed, that the Nestorians and other Christians were for a long time confounded, in the Chinese annals, with the worshippers of Fo an Indian Idol; whose rites were introduced into China about 65 years after the birth of Christ; and that this circumstance has deceived *De la Croze*, *Beausobre*, and some other learned men, who have raised specious objections against the hypothesis that maintains the early introduction of Christianity into this great empire. A reader, properly informed, will lend little or no attention to the ac-

count

II. The attention and activity of the Greeks were so entirely occupied by their intestine divisions, that they were little solicitous about the progress of Christianity. In the west, AUGUSTIN laboured to extend the limits of the church, and to spread the light of the gospel among the Anglo-Saxons; and, after his death, other monks were sent from *Rome* to exert themselves in the same glorious cause. Their efforts were attended with the desired success, and the efficacy of their labours was manifested in the conversion of the six Anglo-Saxon kings, who had hitherto remained under the darkness of the ancient superstitions, to the Christian faith, which gained ground by degrees, and was, at length, embraced universally throughout all *Britain* [c]. We are not, however, to imagine, that this universal change in favour of Christianity was wholly due to the discourses of the Roman monks and doctors; for other causes were certainly instrumental in accomplishing this great event. And it is not to be doubted, that the influence which some christian queens and ladies of high distinction had upon their husbands, and the pains they took to convert them to Christianity, as also the severe and rigorous laws that were afterwards enacted against idolaters [d], contributed much to the progress of the gospel.

III. Many of the British, Scotch, and Irish ecclesiastics travelled among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intention of

As also the
Gauls, the
Suevi, the
Frislanders,
the
Franks, and
the Helvetii.

count given of this matter by Voltaire in the first volume of his *Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, &c.* A Poet, who recounts facts, or denies them, without deigning to produce his authorities, must not expect to meet with the credit that is due to an Historian.

[c] BEDÆ *Historia Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglor.* lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 91. cap. xiv. p. 116. lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 162, &c. edit. Chiffletii. RAPIN THOYRAS, tom. i. p. 227.

[d] WILKINS's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 227.
propagating

CENT.
VII.
PART I.

propagating the knowledge of the truth, and erecting churches and forming religious establishments every where. This was the true reason which induced the Germans, in after-times, to found so many convents for the Scotch and Irish, of which some are yet in being [e].

COLUMBAN, an Irish monk, seconded by the labours of a few companions, had happily extirpated, in the preceding century, the ancient superstitions in *Gaul*, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root; he also carried the lamp of celestial truth among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations [f], and persevered in these pious and useful labours until his death, which happened A. D. 615. St. GAL, who was one of his companions, preached the gospel to the Helvetii, and the Suevi [g]. St. KILIAN set out from *Scotland*, the place of his nativity, and exercised the ministerial function with such success among the eastern Franks, that vast numbers of them embraced Christianity [h]. Towards the conclusion of this century, the famous WILLEBRORD, by birth an Anglo-Saxon, accompanied with eleven of his countrymen, viz. SUIDBERT, WIGBERT, ACCA, WILIBALD, UNIBALD, LEBWIN, the two EWALDS, WERENFRID, MARCELLIN, and ADALBERT, crossed over into *Batavia*, which lay opposite to *Britain*, in order to convert the Friesland-ers to the religion of Jesus. From thence, in the year 692, they

[e] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Febr. p. 392.

[f] MABILLON, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedictini*, tom. ii. p. 560. tom. iii. p. 72. 339 500. ADAMANNI, lib. iii. De S. Columbano, in CANISII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 674.

[g] WALAFRIDI STRABONIS vit. S. GALLI in MABILLON. *Actis S. Ord. Benedictini*, tom. ii. p. 228. CANISII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 783.

[h] *Vita S. KILIANI* in CANISII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 171. JO PET. DE LUDWIG, *Scriptores rerum Wurzburgens.* p. 966.

Went into *Foßeland*, which most writers look upon to have been the same with the isle of *Helgoland*, or *Heiligland*; but being cruelly treated there by RADBOD, king of the Frieslanders, who put WIGBERT, one of the company, to death, they departed hence for *Cimbria*, and the adjacent parts of *Denmark*. They, however, returned to *Friesland* A.D. 693, and were much more successful than they had formerly been in opposing the ancient superstitions, and propagating the knowledge of the truth. WILLEBRORD was ordained, by the Roman pontif, archbishop of *Witeburg*, now *Utrecht*, and died among the Batavians in a good old age: while his associates continued to spread the light of the gospel among the Westphalians, and the neighbouring countries [1].

CENT.
VII.
PART I

IV. These voyages, and many others, undertaken in the cause of CHRIST, carry, no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive enquirer after truth will find it impossible to form the same favourable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated these laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their characters without reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this, was neither the case of them all, nor even of the greatest part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and dishonoured the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty. They abused the power, which they had received from the Roman pontiffs, of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining

The judgment we are to form of these apostles.

[1] *ALCUINI vita Willibrordi* in MABILLON. *Actis SS. Ord. Bened.* Sæc. iii. pars I. p. 603. JO. MOLLER *Cimbria Litt.* tom. ii. p. 580.

C F N T.
VI.
PART I.

souls to CHRIST, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious profelytes; and exercised a princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful. Nor are we to consider as entirely groundless, the suspicions of those who allege, that many of the monks, desirous of rule and authority, concealed their vices under the mask of religion, and endured, for a certain time, the austerities of a rigid mortification and abstinence, merely with a view to raise the church to the episcopal dignity.

The Jews
compelled
to embrace
Christianity

V. The conversion of the Jews seemed at a stand in this century; few or none of that obstinate nation embraced the gospel in consequence of an inward conviction of its truth, though in many places they were barbarously compelled, by the Christians, to make an outward and feigned profession of their faith in CHRIST. The emperor HERRACLIUS, incensed against that miserable people by the insinuations, as it is said, of the Christian doctors, persecuted them in a cruel manner, and ordered multitudes of them to be inhumanly dragged into the Christian churches, in order to be baptized by violence and compulsion [1]. The same odious method of converting was practised in *Spain* and *Gaul*, by the monarchs of those nations, against which even the bishops of *Rome* expressed their displeasure and indignation. Such were the horrid and abominable practices to which an ignorance of the true spirit of Christianity, and the barbarous genius of this age, led the heralds of that divine religion, which was designed to spread abroad CHARITY upon earth, and to render mankind truly and rationally FREE.

[1] EUTYCHI *Annales Ecclesiast. Alexandr.* tom. II. p. 212.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. **T**HE Christians suffered less in this, than in the preceding centuries. They were sometimes persecuted by the Persian monarchs, but still recovered their former tranquillity after transitory scenes of violence and oppression. In *England*, the new converts to Christianity suffered various calamities under the petty kings, who governed in those boisterous times; but these kings embraced the gospel themselves, and then the sufferings of the Christians ceased. In the eastern countries, and particularly in *Syria* and *Palestine*, the Jews, at certain times, attacked the Christians with a merciless fury (1); but, however, with so little success, that they always had reason to repent of their temerity, which was severely chastised. It is true, the church had other enemies, even those who, under the treacherous profession of Christianity, were laying secret schemes for the restoration of Paganism; but they were too weak and too inconsiderable to form any attempts that could endanger the Christian cause.

C E N T.
V I I.
P A R T I.

II. But a new and most powerful enemy to the Christian cause started up in *Arabia* A. D. 612, under the reign of HERACLIUS. This was MAHOMET, an illiterate man [m], but endowed by nature

Mahomet
appears.

(1) EUTYCHII *Annales*, tom. ii p. 236. JO. HENR. HORTIAGIRI *Historia Orientalis*, lib. 1. cap. iii. p. 129.

[m] Mahomet himself expressly declared, that he was totally ignorant of all branches of learning and science, and was even unable either to write or read: and his followers have drawn from this ignorance an argument in favour of the divinity of his mission, and of the religion he taught. It is, however, for credible, that his ignorance was such as it is here

CENT.
VII.
PART I.

nature with the most flowing and attractive eloquence, and with a vast and penetrating genius [n], distinguished also by the advantages he enjoyed from the place of his birth, which added a lustre to his name and his undertakings. This adventurous impostor declared publicly, that he was commissioned, by God, to destroy polytheism and idolatry, and then to reform, first the religion of the Arabians, and afterwards the Jewish and Christian worship. For these purposes he delivered a new law, which is known by the name of the *Koran* [o], or *Alcoran*; and having gained several

here described, and several of his sect have called in question the declarations of their chief relating to this point. See CHARDIN, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 33. 34. If we consider that MAHOMET carried on, for a considerable time, a successful commerce in *Arabia*, and the adjacent countries, this alone will convince us, that he must have been, in some measure, instructed in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the knowledge of which a merchant cannot dispense.

[n] The writers, to whom we are indebted for accounts of the life and religion of MAHOMET, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Delectus et Syllabus argumentor. pro veritate relig. Christianæ*, cap. l. p. 733. To which we may add, BOUJAINVILLIERS, *Vie de Mahomet*, published at London, in 8vo, in the year 1740, and which deserves rather the character of a romance, than of a history. GAGNIER, *Vie de Mahomet*, printed at Amsterdam, in two volumes, 8vo, in 1732, and commendable both for the learning and candour with which it appears to have been composed; and, above all, the most learned and judicious SALE's *Preliminary Discourse*, prefixed to his *English translation of the Koran*, § 2. p. 37.

[o] For an account of the *Koran*, see principally the learned SALE's Preface to his English translation of that work. See also VERTOT's *Discours sur l'Alcoran*, which is subjoined to the third volume of his *History of the Knights of Malta*, and CHARDIN's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 281. The book, which the Mahometans call the *Koran*, or *Alcoran*, is composed of several papers and discourses of MAHOMET, which were discovered and collected after his death, and is by no means that same law, whose excellence MAHOMET vaunted so highly. That some parts of the true *Koran* may be copied in the modern one, is indeed very possible; but that the *Koran*,

or

veral victories over his enemies, he compelled an incredible multitude of persons, both in *Arabia* and the neighbouring nations, to receive his doctrine, and range themselves under his standards. Elated with this rapid and unexpected success, he extended yet further his ambitious views, and formed the vast and arduous project of founding an empire. Here again success crowned his adventurous efforts, and his plan was executed with such intrepidity and impudence, that he died master of all *Arabia*, besides several adjacent provinces.

III. It is, perhaps, impossible, at this time, to form such an accurate judgment of the character, views, and conduct of MAHOMET, as would entirely satisfy the curiosity of a sagacious inquirer after truth. To give entire credit to the Grecian writers in this matter, is neither prudent nor late, since their bitter resentment against this hostile invader led them to invent, without scruple or hesitation, fables and calumnies to blacken his character. The Arabians, on the other hand, are as little to be trusted to; as their historians are destitute of veracity and candour, conceal the vices and enormities of their chief, and represent him as the most divine person that ever appeared upon earth, and as the best gift of God to the world. Add to this, that a considerable part of MAHOMET's life, and indeed that part of it that would be the most proper to lead us to a true

CENT.
VII.
PART I.

What judgment we are to form of Mahomet.

or Law, given by Mahomet to the Arabians, is entirely distinct from the modern *Alcoran*, is manifest from this, that in the latter, MAHOMET appeals to and extols the former, and therefore they must be two different compositions. May it not be conjectured, that the true *Koran* was an Arabic poem, which MAHOMET recited to his followers without giving it to them in writing, ordering them only to commit it to their memory? Such were the laws of the Druids in *Gaul*, and such also those of the Indians, which the Bramins receive by oral tradition, and got by heart.

knowledge

CENT.
VI.
PART I.

knowledge of his character, and of the motives from which he acted, is absolutely unknown. It is highly probable, that he was so deeply affected with the odious and abominable superstition which dishonoured his country, that it threw him into a certain fanatical disorder of mind, and made him really imagine that he was supernaturally commissioned to reform the religion of the Arabians, and to restore among them the worship of one God. It is, however, at the same time, undoubtedly evident, that, when he saw his enterprise crowned with the desired success, he made use of impious frauds to establish the work he had so happily begun, deluded the giddy and credulous multitude by various artifices, and even forged celestial visions to confirm his authority, and remove the difficulties that frequently arose in the course of his affairs. This mixture of imposture is, by no means, incompatible with a spirit of enthusiasm; for the fanatic, through the unguided warmth of zeal, looks often upon the artifices that are useful to his cause, as pious and acceptable to the Supreme Being; and therefore deceives when he can do it with impunity [p]. The religion which MAHOMET taught, is certainly different from what it would have been, if he had met with no opposition in the propagation of his opinions. The difficulties he had to encounter obliged him to yield, in some respects, to the reigning systems; the obstinate attachment of the Arabians to the religion of their ancestors on the one hand, and the fond hope of gaining over to his cause both the Jews and Christians on

[p] This, methinks, is the best way of adjusting the controversy that has been carried on by some learned men upon this curious question, *viz.* Whether MAHOMET was a fanatic, or an impostor? See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article MAHOMET, OCKLEY's *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 62. SALE's *Preface to his translation of the Alcoran*, § 2. p. 39.

the

the other, engaged, no doubt, this fanatical impostor to admit into his system several tenets, which he would have rejected without hesitation, had he been free from the restraints of ambition and artifice.

C E. N. T.
VII.
PART I.

IV. The rapid success which attended the propagation of this new religion, was owing to causes that are plain and evident, and must remove, or rather prevent, our surprize, when they are attentively considered. The terror of MAHOMET'S arms, and the repeated victories which were gained by him and his successors, were, no doubt, the irresistible argument that persuaded such multitudes to embrace his religion, and submit to his dominion. Besides, his law was artfully and marvellously adapted to the corrupt nature of man; and, in a more particular manner, to the manners and opinions of the eastern nations, and the vices to which they were naturally addicted; for the articles of faith which it proposed were few in number, and extremely simple; and the duties it required were neither many nor difficult, nor such as were incompatible with the empire of appetites and passions [q]. It is to be observed further, that the gross ignorance, under which the Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and the greatest part of the eastern nations, laboured at this time, rendered many an easy prey to the artifice and eloquence of this bold adventurer. To these causes of the progress of Mahometism, we may add the bitter dissensions and cruel animosities that reigned among the Christian sects, particularly the Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, dissensions that filled a great part of the east with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name of Christianity odious to many. We might add

The causes which contributed to the rapid progress of the Mahometan religion.

[q] See REFLAND, *De religione Mabumetica*. SALE'S *Preliminary discourse*.

CENT. VII.
PART I.

here, that the Monophysites and Nestorians, full of resentment against the Greeks, from whom they had suffered the bitterest and most injurious treatment, assisted the Arabians in the conquest of several provinces [r], into which, of consequence, the religion of MAHOMET was afterwards introduced. Other causes of the sudden progress of that religion, will naturally occur to such as consider attentively its spirit and genius, and the state of the world at this time.

The treatment which the Christians received from the Mahometans.

V. After the death of MAHOMET, which happened A. D. 632, his followers, led on by an amazing intrepidity, and a fanatical fury, and assisted, as we have already observed, by those Christians whom the Greeks had treated with such severity, extended their conquests beyond the limits of *Arabia*, and subdued *Syria*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, and other countries under their dominion. On the other hand, the Greeks, exhausted with civil discords, and wholly occupied by intestine troubles, were unable to stop these intrepid conquerors in their rapid career.

For some time these enthusiastic invaders used their prosperity with moderation, and treated the Christians, and particularly those among them who rejected the decrees of the councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, with the utmost indulgence and lenity. But as an uninterrupted course of success and prosperity renders, too generally, corrupt mortals insolent and imperious, so the moderation of this victorious sect degenerated by degrees into severity; and they treated the Christians, at length, rather like slaves than citizens, loading them with insupportable taxes, and obliging them to submit to a variety of vexatious and oppressive measures.

[r] See OCKLEY's *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt by the Saracens*, the first part of which was published at London in the year 1708, and the second in 1717.

VI. The

VI. The progress, however, of this triumphant sect received a considerable check by the civil dissensions which arose among them immediately after the death of MAHOMET. ABUBEKER and ALI, the former the father-in-law, and the latter the son-in-law, of this pretended prophet, aspired both to succeed him in the empire which he had erected. Upon this arose a tedious and cruel contest, whose flame reached to succeeding ages, and produced that schism which divided the Mahometans into two great factions, whose separation not only gave rise to a variety of opinions and rites, but also excited the most implacable hatred, and the most deadly animosities. Of these factions, the one acknowledged ABUBEKER as the true *calif*, or successor of MAHOMET, and its members were distinguished by the name of Sunnites; while the other adhered to ALI, and were known by the title of Schiites (s). Both however adhered to the Alcoran as a divine law, and the rule of faith and manners; to which, indeed, the former added, by way of interpretation, the *sonna*, i. e. a certain law which they looked upon as descended from MAHOMET by oral tradition, and which the Schiites refused to admit. Among the Sunnites, or followers of ABUBEKER, we are to reckon the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Africans, and the greatest part of the Indian Mahometans; whereas the Persians and the subjects of the Grand Mogul are generally considered as the followers of ALI; though the latter indeed seem rather to observe a strict neutrality in this contest.

Besides these two grand factions, there are other subordinate sects among the Mahometans, which dispute with warmth concerning several points of

CENT.
VII.
PART I.
The Mahometans divided.

[s] See RELAND, *De religione Turcica*, lib. i. p. 36. 70. 74. 85. CHARDIN'S *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 236.

C E N T. religion, though without violating the rules of
 VII. mutual toleration (*t*). Of these sects there are
 PART I.

four, which far surpass the rest in point of repu-
 tation and importance.

[*t*] For an account of the Mahometan sects, see HOTTINGER, *Hist. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 340. RICH T. *Etat. de l'empire Ottoman*, livr. ii. p. 242. CHARDIN's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 263. SALE's *Preliminary Discourse*, § 8. p. 151.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. **N**OTHING can equal the ignorance and darkness that reigned in this century ; the most impartial and accurate account of which will appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with the productions of this barbarous period. Any remains of learning and philosophy that yet survived, were, a few particular cases excepted, to be found principally among the Latins, in the obscure retreats of cloistered monks. The monastic institutions prohibited the election of any abbot to the head of a convent, who was not a man of learning, or, at least, endowed with a tolerable measure of the erudition of the times. The monks were obliged to consecrate certain hours every day to reading and study : and, that they might improve this appointment to the most advantageous purposes, there were, in most of the monasteries, fixed times marked out, at which they were to assemble, in order to communicate to each other the fruits of their study, and to discuss the matters upon which they had been reading [a]. The youth also, who were destined for the service of the church, were obliged to prepare themselves for their ministry by a diligent application to study, and in this they were directed by the monks,

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The state of
learning.

[a] See MABILLON, *Anna S. S. Ord. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 479 513.

• E N T. one of whose principal occupations it was to pre-
 VII. side over the education of the rising priesthood.
 PART II.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these institutions were of little use to the advancement of solid learning, or of rational theology, because very few in these days were acquainted with the true nature of the liberal arts and sciences, or with the important ends which they were adapted to serve; and the greatest part of those who were looked upon as learned men, threw away their time in reading the marvellous lives of a parcel of fanatical saints, instead of employing it in the perusal of well chosen and excellent authors. They, who distinguished themselves most by their taste and genius, carried their studies little farther than the works of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY the GREAT: and it is of scraps collected out of these two writers, and patched together without much uniformity, that the best productions of this century are entirely composed.

The ignorance of the bishops.

II. The sciences enjoyed no degree of protection, at this time, from kings and princes, nor did they owe any thing to men of high and eminent stations in the empire. On the other hand, the schools which had been committed to the care and inspection of the bishops, whose ignorance and indolence were now become enormous, began to decline apace, and were, in many places, fallen into ruin [b]. The bishops in general were so illiterate, that few of that body were capable of composing the discourses which they delivered to the people. Such of them as were not totally destitute of genius composed out of the writings of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY a certain number of insipid homilies, which they divided between themselves and their stupid colleagues, that they

[b] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 428.

might not be obliged through incapacity to discontinue preaching the doctrines of Christianity to their people, as appears evident by the examples of CÆSARIUS bishop of *Arles*, and ELOI bishop of *Noyon* [c]. There is yet extant a summary of theological doctrine, which was unskillfully compiled by TALON bishop of *Saragossa*, from the writings of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY; and which was so highly exalted in this illiterate age, that its author was called, by the rest of the bishops, the *true salt of the earth*, and a divine light that was sent to illuminate the world [d]. Many such instances of the ignorance and barbarity of this century will occur to those who have any acquaintance with the writers it produced. *England*, it is true, was happier in this respect than the other nations of *Europe*, which was principally owing to THEODORE of *Tarsus*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards, who was appointed archbishop of *Canterbury*, and contributed much to introduce, among the English, a certain taste for literary pursuits, and to excite in that kingdom a zeal for the advancement of learning [e].

III. In *Greece*, the fate of the sciences was truly lamentable. A turgid eloquence; and an affected pomp and splendor of style, which cast a perplexing obscurity over subjects in themselves the most clear and perspicuous, was now the highest point of perfection to which both prose writers and poets aspired. The Latin eloquence was still vastly below that of the Greeks; it had not spirit

The sciences and the art of writing sunk into barbarity and corruption.

[c] In the original we read ELIGIUS *Noviomagensis*, which is a mistake either of the author, or printer. It is probable that *Noviomagensis* has slipped from the pen of Dr. MOSHEIM, in the place of *Noviodunensis*; for ELOI was bishop of *Noyon*, and not of *Nimeguen*.

[d] MABILLON, *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. i. p. 42.

[e] WILKINS's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 42. CONRINGII *Antiquitat. Academicæ*, p. 277.

CEN T.
VII.
PART II.

enough even to be turgid, and, a few compositions excepted, was sunk to the very lowest degree of barbarity and corruption. Both the Greek and Latin writers, who attempted historical compositions, degraded most miserably that important science. MOSCHUS and SOPHRONIUS among the former; and among the latter BRAULIO, JONAS an Ilibernian, AUDOENUS, DADO, and ADAMANNUS, wrote the lives of several saints; or rather a heap of insipid and ridiculous fables, void of the least air of probability, and without the smallest tincture of eloquence. The Greeks related, without discernment or choice, the most vulgar reports that were handed about concerning the events of ancient times: and hence that multitude of absurd fables, which the Latins afterwards copied from them with the utmost avidity.

The state of
philosophy.

IV. Among the Latins philosophy was at its lowest ebb. It there were any that retained some faint reluctance to abandon it entirely, such confined their studies to the writings of BOETIUS and CASSIODORUS, from which they committed to memory a certain number of phrases and sentences; and that was all their philosophical stock. The Greeks, abandoning PLATO to the monks, gave themselves entirely up to the direction of ARISTOTLE, and studied, with eagerness, the subtilties of his logic, which were of signal use in the controversies carried on between the Monophysites, the Nestorians, and Monothelites. All these different sects called the Stagiritè to their assistance, when they were to plead their cause, and to defend their doctrines. Hence it was, that JAMES, bishop of *Edeffa*, who was a Monophysite, translated, in this century, the dialectics of ARISTOTLE into the Syriac language [*f*].

[*f*] See ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 498.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government during this century.

I. **T**HE disputes about pre-eminence, that had so long subsisted between the bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, proceeded, in this century, to such violent lengths, as laid the foundations of that deplorable schism, which afterwards separated the Greek and Latin churches. The most learned writers, and those who are most remarkable for their knowledge of antiquity, are generally agreed that BONIFACE III. engaged PHOCAS, that abominable tyrant, who waded to the imperial throne through the blood of the emperor MAURITIUS, to take from the bishop of *Constantinople* the title of *æcumenical*, or *universal bishop*, and to confer it upon the Roman pontiff. They relate this, however, upon the sole authority of BARONIUS; for none of the ancient writers have mentioned it. If, indeed, we are to give credit to ANASTASIUS and PAUL DIACON [g] something like what we have now related was transacted by PHOCAS; for when the bishops of *Constantinople* maintained that their church was not only equal in dignity and authority to that of *Rome*, but also the head of all the Christian churches, this tyrant opposed their pretensions, and granted the pre-eminence to the church of *Rome*: and thus was the papal supremacy first introduced.

II. The Roman pontiffs used all sorts of methods to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence which they had acquired by a grant from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced

C E N T.
VII.
PART II.

The disputes about pre-eminence between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

The supremacy of the former opposed by many.

[g] ANASTASIUS, *De vitis Pontificum*. PAUL. DIACON. *De rebus gestis Longobard.* lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. in MURATORII *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. pars I. p. 46.

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

the annals of history. We find, however, in the most authentic accounts of the transactions of this century, that not only several emperors and princes, but also whole nations, opposed the ambitious views of the bishops of *Rome*. The Byzantine history, and the *Formulary* of MARCULFUS, contain many proofs of the influence which the civil magistrate yet retained in religious matters, and of the subordination of the Roman pontiffs to the regal authority. It is true, the Roman writers affirm, that CONSTANTINE POGONATUS abdicated the privilege of confirming, by his approbation, the election of the bishop of that city; and, as a proof of this, they allege a passage of ANASTASIUS, in which it is said, that, according to an edict of POGONATUS, *the pontif, who should be elected, was to be ordained immediately, and without the least delay* [b]. But every one must see, that this passage is insufficient to prove what these writers assert with such confidence. It is however certain, that this emperor abated, some say remitted, the sum, which, since the time of THEODORIC, the bishops of *Rome* had been obliged to pay to the imperial treasury before they could be ordained, or have their election confirmed [i].

The ancient Britons and Scots persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty; and

[b] ANASTASII vit. Pontif. in Bened. p. 146. in MURATORI Script. rerum Italicar. tom. iii.

[i] ANASTAS. vit Pontif. in Agathone, p. 144. compared with MASCOVII Hist. German. tom. ii. p. 121. in the annotations. It will not be amiss to observe here, that by the same edict, which diminished the ordination money paid by the bishops of *Rome* to the emperor, CONSTANTINE resumed the power of confirming the election of the pope, which his predecessors had invested in the exarchs of *Ravenna*; so that the bishop elect was not to be ordained till his election was notified to the court of *Constantinople*, and the imperial decree confirming it was received by the electors at *Rome*. See ANASTASIUS, in his life of AGATHO.

neither the threats nor promises of the legates of *Rome* could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the ambitious pontif, as appears manifestly from the testimony of BEDE. The churches of *Gaul* and *Spain* attributed as much authority to the bishop of *Rome*, as they thought suitable to their own dignity, and consistent with their interests; nay, even in *Italy*, his supreme authority was obstinately rejected, since the bishop of *Ravenna*, and other prelates, refused an implicit submission to his orders [k]. Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition, of the Roman pontiffs; and it is highly probable, that the Valdenses or Vaudois had already, in this century, retired into the valleys of *Piedmont*, that they might be more at their liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious prelates [l].

III. The progress of vice among the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church was, at this time, truly deplorable; neither bishops, presbyters, deacons, nor even the cloistered monks, were exempt from the general contagion, as appears from the unanimous confession of all the writers of this century that are worthy of credit. In those very places, that were consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people, with many other vices still more enormous. There reigned also in many places the most bitter dissensions between the bishops and the monks. The former had employed

Vices of
the clergy.)

[k] See GEDDES, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. ii. p. 6.

[l] See ANTOINE LEGLER's *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. p. 15.

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

the greedy hands of the latter to augment the episcopal treasure, and to draw contributions from all parts to support them in their luxury, and the indulgence of their lusts. The monks perceiving this, and also unwilling to serve the bishops in such a dishonourable character, fled for refuge to the emperors and princes, under whose civil jurisdiction they lived; and afterwards, for their further security, had recourse to the protection of the Roman pontif [m]. This protection they readily obtained, and the imperious pontifs, always fond of exerting their authority, exempted, by degrees, the monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The monks, in return for this important service, devoted themselves wholly to advance the interests, and to maintain the dignity, of the bishop of Rome. They made his cause their own, and represented him as a sort of God to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had gained a prodigious ascendant by the notion that generally prevailed of the sanctity of the monastic order. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that this immunity of the monks was a fruitful source of licentiousness and disorder, and occasioned the greatest part of the vices with which they were afterwards so justly charged. Such, at least, is the judgment of the best writers upon this subject [n].

The state of
the monks.

IV. In the mean time the monks were every where in high repute, and their cause was accompanied with the most surprising success, particularly among the Latins, through the protection

[m] See LAUNOII *Affertio inquisitionis in Chartam Immunitatis S. Germani*, opp. tom. iii. pars I. p. 50. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 159. tom. iv. p. 108. MURATORII *Antiq. Italic.* tom. ii. p. 944. 949.

[n] See LAUNOII *Examen privilegii S. Germani*, tom. iii. part I. p. 282. WILKINS'S *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 43, 44. 49, &c.

and

and favour of the Roman pontif, and their pharisaical affectation of uncommon piety and devotion. The heads of families, striving to surpass each other in their zeal for the propagation and advancement of monkery, dedicated their children to God, by shutting them up in convents, and devoting them to a solitary life, which they looked upon as the highest felicity [o]; nor did they fail to send with these innocent victims a rich dowry. Abandoned profligates, who had passed their days in the most enormous pursuits, and whose guilty consciences filled them with terror and remorse, were comforted with the delusive hopes of obtaining pardon, and making atonement for their crimes, by leaving the greatest part of their fortune to some monastic society. Multitudes, impelled by the unnatural dictates of a gloomy superstition, deprived their children of fertile lands and rich patrimonies, in favour of the monks, by whose prayers they hoped to render the Deity propitious. Several ecclesiastics laid down rules for the direction of the monastic orders. Those among the Latins, who undertook this pious task, were FRUCTUOSUS, ISIDORE, JOHANNES GERUNDINENSIS, and COLUMBA [p]. The rule of discipline, prescribed by St. BENEDICT, was not as yet so universally followed as to exclude all others.

V. The writers of this age, who distinguished themselves by their genius or erudition, were very few in number. Among the Greeks, the first rank is due to MAXIMUS, a monk, who disputed with great obstinacy and warmth against the Monothelites, composed some illustrations upon the Holy Scriptures, and was, upon the whole, a man of no mean capacity, though unhappy through the impatience and violence of his natural temper.

The Greek
writers.

[o] GERVAIS, *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. i. p. 9—16.

[p] LUCÆ HOLSTENII *Codex Regular*, tom. ii. p. 225.

ISYCHIUS,

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

ISYCHIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, explained several books of scripture [q]; and left behind him several *Homilies*, and some productions of less importance.

DOROTHEUS, abbot of *Palestine*, acquired a considerable name by his *Ascetic Dissertations*, in which he laid down a plan of monastic life and manners.

ANTIOCHUS, a monk of *SEBA* in *Palestine*, and a monk of a very superstitious complexion, composed a *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*, i. e. a summary or system of the Christian doctrine, which is by no means worthy of the highest commendation.

SOPHRONIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, was rendered illustrious, and attracted the veneration of succeeding ages, by the controversies he carried on against those who, at this time, were branded with the name of Heretics; and particularly against the Monothelites, of whose doctrine he was the first opposer, and also the fomentor of the dispute which it occasioned [r].

There are yet extant several *Homilies*, attributed to ANDREW bishop of *Crete*, which are destitute of true piety and eloquence, and which are, moreover, considered by some writers as entirely spurious.

GREGORY, surnamed PISIDES, deacon of *Constantinople*, besides the *History of Heraclius and the Avars*, composed several poems, and other pieces of too little moment to deserve mention.

THEODORE, abbot of *Raitlu*, published a book which is still extant, against those sects who seemed to introduce corrupt innovations into the Christ-

[q] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 261.

[r] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. *Martin ad d. xi.* p. 65.

ian religion by their doctrine relating to the person of CHRIST.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The Latin
writers.

VI. Among the Latin writers, a certain number were distinguished from the rest by their superior abilities. ILDEFONSE, archbishop of *Toledo*, was reputed for his learning; the Spaniards, however, attribute to him, without foundation, certain treatises concerning the *Virgin Mary* [s].

We have yet extant *Two books of epistles*, written by DESIDERIUS, bishop of *Cabors*, and published by the learned CANISIUS.

ELIGIUS, or ELOI, bishop of *Limoges*, left behind him several *Homilies*, and some other productions.

MARCULF, a Gallic monk, composed *Two books of ecclesiastical forms*, which are highly valuable, as they are extremely proper to give us a just idea of the deplorable state of religion and learning in this century [t].

ALDHLM, an English prelate, composed several poems *Concerning the Christian life*, which exhibit but indifferent marks of genius and fancy [u].

JULIAN POMERIUS confuted the Jews, and acquired a name by several other productions, which are neither worthy of much applause nor of utter contempt. To all these we might add CRESCONIUS, whose *Abridgment of the canons* is well known; FREDEGARIUS the historian, and a few others.

[s] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, Januar. tom. ii. p. 535.

[t] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 565.

[u] This prelate certainly deserved a more honourable mention than is here made of him by Dr MOSHEIM. His poetical talents were by no means the most distinguishing part of his character. He was profoundly versed in the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages. He appeared also with dignity in the *pascual* controversy, that so long divided the Saxon and British churches. See COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. i. p. 121.

C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during
this century.*

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The deplorable
state
of religion.

IN this barbarous age, religion lay expiring under a motley and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise her head, or to display her native charms, to a darkened and deluded world. In the earlier periods of the church, the worship of Christians was confined to the one Supreme God, and his Son JESUS CHRIST: but the Christians of this century multiplied the objects of their devotion, and paid homage to the remains of the true cross, to the images of the saints and to bones, whose real owners were extremely dubious [w]. The primitive Christians, in order to excite men to a course of piety and virtue, set before them that heavenly itate, and those mansions of misery, which the gospel has revealed as the different portions of the right-

[w] It will not be amiss to quote here a remarkable passage out of *The Life of St ELIGIUS*, or ELOI, bishop of *Noyon*, which is to be found in DACHERIUS's *Spicilegium veter. Scriptorum* tom. ii. p. 92. This passage, which is very proper to give us a just idea of the piety of this age, is as follows: "Huic sanctissimo viro inter cetera virtutum suarum miracula " id etiam a Domino concessum erat, ut sanctorum martyrum " corpora, quæ per tot sæcula abdita populis hæcenus habebantur, eo investigante ac nimio ardore fidei indagante, " patefacta proderentur." It appears, by this passage, that St. ELOI was a zealous relic-hunter, and if we may give credit to the writer of his life, he was very successful at this kind of game; for he smelt and unkennelled the carcases of St. QUINTIN, St. PLATO, St. CRISPIN, St. CRISPINIAN, St. LUCIAN, and many more. The bishops of this age, who were either ambitiously desirous of popular applause, or intent upon accumulating riches, and filling their coffers with the oblations of a superstitious people, pretended to be endowed with a miraculous sagacity in discovering the bodies of saints and martyrs.

eous and the wicked: while the Christians of this century talked of nothing else but a certain fire, which effaced the stains of vice, and purified souls from their corruption. The *former* taught that CHRIST, by his sufferings and death, had made atonement for the sins of mortals; the *latter* seemed, by their superstitious doctrine, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven, such as had not contributed, by their offerings, to augment the riches of the clergy, or the church [x]. — The *former* were only studious to attain to a virtuous simplicity of life and manners, and employed their principal zeal and diligence in the culture of true and genuine piety; while the *latter* placed the whole of religion in external rites and bodily exercises. The methods also of solving the difficulties, and dissipating the doubts, that often arose in inquisitive minds, were of a piece with the rest of the superstitious system that now prevailed. The two great and irresistible argu-

[x] St. ELIGIUS, or ELOI, expresses himself upon this matter in the following manner: “ Bonus Christianus est, qui
“ ad ecclesiam frequenter venit, et oblationem, quæ in altari
“ Deo offeratur, exhibet; qui de fructibus suis non gustat,
“ nisi prius Deo aliquid offerat; qui, quoties sanctæ solem-
“ nitates adveniunt, ante dies plures castitatem suam cum
“ propria uxore custodit, ut secura conscientia Domini altare
“ accedere possit; qui postremo symbolum vel orationem Do-
“ minicam memoriter tenet.—Redimite animas vestras de
“ pœna, dum habetis in potestate remedia—oblationes et de-
“ cimas ecclesiis offerte, luminaria sanctis locis, juxta quod
“ habetis, exhibite—ad ecclesiam quoque frequentius conve-
“ nite, sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite—quod si ob-
“ servaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni judi-
“ cis venientes dicetis: Da, Domine, quia dedimus.” We
see here a large and ample description of the character of a
good Christian, in which there is not the least mention of the
love of God, resignation to his will, obedience to his laws, or of
justice, benevolence, and charity towards men; and in which
the whole of religion is made to consist in coming often to the
church, bringing offerings to the altar, lighting candles in con-
secrated places, and such like vain services.

C E N T. VII. ments against all doubts, were *the authority of the*
 PART II. church, and the *working of miracles*: and the pro-
 duction of these prodigies required no extraordi-
 nary degree of dexterity in an age of such gross
 and univereal ignorance.

The expo-
 sitors of the
 Holy Scrip-
 tures,

II. Few either of the Greeks or Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures during this century. There are yet extant some commentaries of ISYCHIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, upon certain books of *the Old Testament*, and upon *the Epistle to the Hebrews*. MAXIMUS published a solution of LXV *questions relating to the Holy Scriptures*, and other productions of the same nature. JULIAN POMERIUS attempted, but without success, to reconcile the seeming contradictions that are to be found in the sacred writings, and to explain the prophecy of NAHUM. All these writers were manifestly inferior to the meanest expositors of modern times. The Grecian doctors, particularly those who pretended to be initiated in the most mysterious depths of theology, were continually hunting after fantastic allegories, as is evident from the *Questions* of MAXIMUS already mentioned. The Latins, on the contrary, were so diffident of their abilities, that they did not dare to enter these allegorical labyrinths, but contented themselves with what flowers they could pluck out of the rich collections of GREGORY and AUGUSTIN. Of this we see a manifest example in PATERIUS's *Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, which is entirely compiled from the writings of GREGORY the GREAT [y]. Among the interpreters of this century, we must not forget THOMAS bishop of *Heraclea*, who gave a

[y] This useless production has been usually published with the works of GREGORY the GREAT: in consequence of which, the Benedictine monks have inserted it in their splendid edition of the works of that pontif, tom. iv. part II.

second

second Syriac version of all the books of the New Testament [z].

C E N. T.
VII.
PART II.

Didactic
theology.

III. While philosophy and theology had scarcely any remains of life, any marks of existence among the Latins, the Greeks were wholly occupied with controversies about certain particular branches of religion, and never once thought of reducing all the doctrines of Christianity into one regular and rational system. It is true, ANTIOCHUS, a monk of *Palestine*, composed a short summary of the Christian doctrine, which he intitled, *The Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*. It is, however, easy to perceive what sort of an author he was, how void of dignity and true judgment, from many circumstances, and particularly from that useful poem which is subjoined to his work; in which he deplores, in lamentable strains, the loss of that precious fragment of the true cross, which is said to have been carried away, by the Persians, among other spoils. The most elegant and judicious summary of theology that appeared among the Latins in this century, was the Treatise of ILDEFONSE *De cognitione baptismi*, which was saved, by BALUSIUS, from the ruins of time; a work, indeed, which is not extremely necessary since the ignoble frauds of superstition have been so fully brought to light, though it contains remarkable proofs, that many of the corrupt additions and inventions, which disfigure Christianity in the popish churches, were not contrived till after this period [a]. The dry and insipid body
of

[z] JOS. SIM. ASSFMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 93, 94.

[a] See BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. 1. From the work of ILDEFONSUS it appears evident, that the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was absolutely unknown to the Latins in this century; see C. 137. p. 99: that the Holy Scriptures were in the hands of all Christians, and were per-

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

of divinity, composed by TAILO, or TAGO, bishop of *Saragossa*, under the title of *Five Books of Sentences*, and compiled from the writings of GREGORY and AUGUSTIN, is scarcely worthy of mention, though, in this century, it was considered as an admirable and immortal work [b].

Several particular branches of doctrine were treated by the theological writers of this age: Thus MAXIMUS wrote concerning the nature of *Theology*, and the *Manifestation of the Son in the flesh*, and also concerning the *Two natures in CHRIST*; and THEODORE RAITHU composed a treatise concerning CHRIST's *Incarnation*. But a small acquaintance with the state of learning and religion at this period, will enable us to form a just though disadvantageous idea of the merit of these performances, and also of their authors.

Moral writers.

IV. The moral writers of this century, and their miserable productions, shew too plainly to what a wretched state that noble and important science was now reduced. Among these moralists, the first rank is due to DOROTHUUS, author of the *Ascetic Dissertations*; MAXIMUS, ALDHLM; HESYCHIUS; THALASSIUS; and some others: yet even in their productions, what groveling notions do we find! what rubbish, what an heap of superstitious fancies, and how many marks of extravagance, perplexity, and doubt! Besides; the *laity* had little reason to complain of the severity of their moral directors, whose custom it was to reduce all the obligations

used by them without the least molestation or restraint, C. 80. p. 59. ILDEFONSUS, it is true, is zealous in banishing reason and philosophy from religious matters; he however establishes the *Holy Scriptures* and the *Writings of the ancient doctors* as the supreme tribunals before which all theological opinions are to be tried, p. 14. 22.

[b] See MABILLON, *Analecra veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 68.

of

of Christianity to the practice of a small number of virtues, as appears from *ALDHELM's Treatise concerning the eight principal Virtues*. Nor was the neglect of these duties attended with such penalties as were proper to restrain offenders. The false notions also, which prevailed in this age, tended much to diminish a just sense of the nature and obligation of virtue; for the solitude of the monastic life, though accompanied with no marks of solid and genuine piety, was deemed sufficient to atone for all sorts of crimes, and was therefore honoured among the Latins with the title of the *second baptism*, which circumstance alone may serve to shew us the miserable state of Christianity at this time. The greatest part of the Grecian and Oriental monks laboured to arrive at a state of perfection by mere contemplation, and studiously endeavoured to form their temper and characters after the model of *DIONYSIUS*, the chief of the Mystics.

V. *THEODORE* of *Tarsus*, a Grecian monk, restored among the Latins the discipline of *penance*, as it is commonly termed, which had been for a long time almost totally neglected, and enforced it by a body of severe laws borrowed from the Grecian canons. This zealous prelate, being raised beyond his expectation to the see of *Canterbury* A. D. 668, formed and executed several pious and laudable projects; and among other things reduced to a regular science that branch of ecclesiastical law, which is known by the name of *penitential discipline*. He published a *Penitential*, which was entirely new to the Latin world, by which the clergy were taught to distinguish sins into various classes, according as they were more or less heinous, private or public; to judge of them and determine the degrees of their guilt by their nature and consequences; the intention of the offender; the time and place in which they

The general
of the
penitential dis-
cipline.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

were committed; and the circumstances with which they were attended. This new *Penitential* contained also the methods of proceeding with respect to offenders; pointed out the penalties that were suitable to the various classes of transgressions; prescribed the forms of *consolation*, *exhortation*, and *absolution*; and described, in an ample and accurate manner, the duties and obligations of those who were to receive the confessions of the penitent [c]. This new discipline, though of Grecian origin, was eagerly adopted by the Latin churches; and, in a short space of time, passed from *Britain* into all the western provinces, where the book of THEODORE became the model of all other *penitentials*, and was multiplied in a vast number of copies. The duration of this discipline was but transitory; for, in the eighth century, it began to decline, and was, at length, entirely supplanted by what was called the new canon of *indulgences*.

The state of
Polemical
theology.

VI. The doctors who opposed the various sects are scarcely worthy of mention, and would deserve still less an attentive perusal, did not their writings contribute to illustrate the history of the times in which they lived. NICIAS composed two books *against the Gentiles*; and PHOTIUS informs us, that a certain writer, whose name is unknown, embarked in the same controversy, and supported the good cause by a prodigious number of arguments drawn from ancient records and monuments [d]. JULIAN POMERIUS exerted his polemic talent against the Jews. The views

[c] The *Penitential* of THEODORE is yet extant, though maimed and imperfect, in an edition published at *Paris* in the year 1679, in 4to, by PETIT; and enriched with learned dissertations and notes of the editor. We have also the *cxx Capitula Ecclesiast. THEODORI*, published in DACAERIUS's *Spicilegium*, tom. ix. and in the *Concilia* HARDUINI, tom. iii. p. 1771.

[d] *Biblioth. Cod. clxx.* p. 379.

of TIMOTHEUS were yet more extensive; for he gave an ample description and a laboured confutation of all the various *heresies* that divided the church, in his book *Concerning the reception of Heretics*.

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

As to the dissensions of the Catholic Christians among themselves, they produced, at this time, few or no events worthy of mention. We shall, therefore, only observe, that in this century were sown the seeds of those fatal discords, which rent asunder the bonds of Christian communion between the Greek and Latin churches; nay, these seeds had already taken root in the minds of the Greeks, to whom the Roman power became insupportable, and the pretensions of the sovereign pontif odious.

In *Britain*, warm controversies concerning baptism, the tonsure, and particularly the famous dispute concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival, were carried on between the ancient Britons, and the new converts to Christianity, which AUGUSTIN had made among the Anglo-Saxons [e]. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity were not at all affected by these controversies, which, on that account, were more innocent and less important than they would have

[e] CUMMIANI *Epistola* in JAC. USSERII *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 23. BLDÆ *Historia Ecclesiast. gentis Anglor.* lib. iii cap. xxv. WILKINS'S *Concilia Magnæ Britann.* tom. i. p. 37. 42. *Acta Sanctor. Februar.* tom. iii. p. 21. 84. See also Dr. WARNER'S *Ecclesiastical History of England*, books II. and III. This history, which has lately appeared, deserves the highest applause, on account of that noble spirit of liberty, candour, and moderation, that seems to have guided the pen of the judicious author. It were, at the same time, to be wished, that this elegant historian had less avoided citing authorities, and been a little more lavish of that erudition which he is known to possess: for then, after having surpassed COLLIER in all other respects, he would have equalled him in that depth and learning, which are the only meritorious circumstances of his partial and disagreeable history.

CENT. otherwise been. Besides, they were entirely terminated, in the eighth century, in favour of the
 VII.
 PART II. Anglo-Saxons, by the Benedictin monks [f].

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Religious
rites mul-
tplied.

I. **I**N the council of *Constantinople*, which was called *Quinisextum* [g], the Greeks enacted several laws concerning the ceremonies that were to be observed in divine worship, which rendered their ritual, in some respects, different from that of the Romans. These laws were publicly received by all the churches, which were established in the dominions of the Grecian emperors; and also by those which were joined with them in communion and doctrine, though under the civil jurisdiction of Barbarian princes. Nor was this all: for every Roman pontif added something new to the antient rites and institutions, as if it was an essential mark of their zeal for religion, and of their pious discharge of the ministerial function, to divert the multitude with new shews and new spectacles of devout mummerly. These superstitious inventions were, in the time of CHARLEMAGNE, propagated from *Rome* among the other Latin churches, whose subjection to the Roman ritual was necessary to satisfy the ambitious demands of the lordly pontif.

[f] MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iii. Benedictinum*, p. 2.
 See also Dr. WAPNER's *Ecclesiast. Hist.* book III.

[g] This council was called *Quinisextum*, from its being considered as a supplement to the fifth and sixth councils of *Constantinople*, in which nothing had been decreed concerning the morals of Christians, or religious ceremonies.

II. It

II. It will not be improper to select here a few out of the many instances we could produce of the multiplication of religious rites in this century. The number of festivals, under which the church already groaned, was now augmented; a new festival was instituted in honour of the true cross on which Christ suffered, and another in commemoration of the Saviour's ascension into heaven. BONIFACE V. enacted that infamous law, by which the churches became places of refuge to all who fled thither for protection; a law which procured a sort of impunity to the most enormous crimes, and gave a loose rein to the licentiousness of the most abandoned profligates. HONORIUS employed all his diligence and zeal in embellishing churches, and other consecrated places, with the most pompous and magnificent ornaments; for as neither CHRIST, nor his apostles, had left any injunctions of this nature to their followers, their pretended vicar thought it but just to supply this defect by the most splendid display of his ostentatious beneficence. We shall pass in silence the riches and variety of the sacerdotal garments that were now used at the celebration of the eucharist, and in the performance of divine worship, as this would lead us into a tedious detail of minute and unimportant matters.

CENT.
VII.
PART II.
Some examples of this addition to the ritual.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

- I. **T**HE Greeks were engaged, during this century, in the most bitter and virulent controversy with the PAULICIANS, whom they considered as a branch of the Manichean sect, and who.

The remains of the ancient sects.

C F N T.
 VII.
 PART II.

Paulicians.

Arians.

Pelagians.

who were settled in *Armenia* and the adjacent countries. This dispute was carried to the greatest height under the reigns of CONSTANS, CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, and JUSTINIAN II.; and the Greeks were not only armed with arguments, but were also seconded by the force of military legions, and the terror of penal laws. A certain person, whose name was CONSTANTINE, revived, under the reign of CONSTANS, the drooping faction of the PAULICIANS, which was now ready to expire; and propagated with great success its pestilential [*b*] doctrines. But this is not the place to enlarge upon the tenets and history of this sect, whose origin is attributed to PAUL and JOHN, two brothers, who revived and modified the doctrine of MANES. As it was in the ninth century that the Paulicians flourished most, and acquired strength sufficient to support the rigours of an open and cruel war with the Greeks, we shall reserve a more particular account of them for our history of that period.

II. In *Italy*, the Lombards preferred the opinions of the Arians to the doctrine which was established by the council of *Nice*. In *Gaul* and in *England*, the Pelagian and Semi-pelagian controversies continued to excite the warmest animosities and dissensions. In the eastern provinces, the ancient sects, which had been weakened and oppressed by the imperial laws, but neither totally extirpated nor destroyed, began, in many places, to raise their heads, to recover their vigour, and to gain proselytes. The terror of penal laws had obliged them, for some time, to seek their safety in their obscurity, and therefore to conceal their opinions from the public eye; but

[*b*] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manich.* p. 61. PETRI SICULI *Historia Manich.* p. 41. GEORG. CEDRENIUS, *Compend. Hist.* p. 431. edit. Venet.

as soon as they saw the fury or the power of their adversaries diminish, their hopes returned, and their courage was renewed.

C E N T.
VIL.
PART II.

III. The condition both of the Nestorians and Monophysites was much more flourishing under the Saracens, who were now become lords of the east, than it had been hitherto under the Christian emperors, or even the Persian monarchs. These two sects met with a distinguished protection from their new masters, while the Greeks suffered under the same sceptre all the rigours of persecution and banishment. JESUIABAS, the sovereign pontif of the Nestorians, concluded a treaty first with MAHOMET, and afterwards with OMAR, by which he obtained many signal advantages for his sect [2]. There is yet extant a *Testamentary Diploma* of MAHOMET, in which he promises and bequeaths to the Christians, in his dominions, the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, together with their temporal advantages and possessions. Some learned men have, indeed, called in question the authenticity of this deed; it is however certain, that the Mahometans unanimously acknowledge it to be genuine [k]. Accordingly, the successors of MAHOMET in *Persia* employed the Nestorians in the most important affairs,

Nestorians
and Mono-
physites.

[2] JOS. SIMON. *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. 94.

[k] This famous *Testament* of MAHOMET was brought from the east, during the last century, by PACIFICUS SCALIGER, a Capuchin monk, and was published first in *Arabic and Latin* at *Paris* by GABRIEL SIONITA, A. D. 1630; afterwards in Latin by the learned FABRICIUS, A. D. 1638; and also by HINCKELMAN, A. D. 1690. See HENR. HOTTINGER. *Hist. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 237. *Assemani Bibl. Orient. Var.* tom. iii. part II. p. 95. RENAULT, *Hist. Patriarchar. Alexandr.* p. 168. They who, in conformity with the opinion of GROTIUS, reject this Testament, suppose it forged by the Syrian and Arabian monks, with a view to soften the Mahometan yoke under which they groaned, and to render their despotic masters less severe. Nor is this representation of the matter at all incredible; for it is certain, that the monks

of

C E N T. VII. PART II. affairs, both of the cabiner and of the provinces, and suffered the patriarch of that sect only, to reside in the kingdom of *Babylon* [l]. The Monophysites enjoyed in *Syria* and *Egypt* an equal degree of favour and protection. AMRUS, having made himself master of *Alexandria* in the year 644, fixed BENJAMIN, the pontif of the Monophysites, in the episcopal residence of that noble city; and from this period, the Melchites [m] were without a bishop for almost a whole century [n].

of mount *Sinai* formerly shewed an edict of MAHOMET of the same nature with the one now under consideration, which they pretend was drawn up by him while he was yet in a private station. This edict was extremely advantageous to them, and was, undoubtedly, an artful piece of forgery. The fraud was plain: but the Mahometans, in consequence of their ignorance and stupidity, believed it to be a genuine production of their chief, and continue still in the same opinion. There is an account of this fraud given by CANFIMER, in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. ii. p. 269. The argument therefore which RENAUDOT and others draw in favour of the *Testament* in question, from the acknowledgment which the Mahometans make of its authenticity, is of little or no weight; since the Mahometans of all others are the most liable to be deceived in things of this nature, by their gross and unparalleled ignorance. On the other hand, several of the arguments used by those, who deny the authenticity of this *Testament*, are equally unsatisfactory; that, particularly, which is drawn from the difference that there is between the style of this deed and that of the *Alcoran*, proves absolutely nothing at all: since it is not essential to the genuineness of this Testament to suppose it penned by MAHOMET himself, because the impostor might have employed a secretary to compose it. But let this *Testament* be genuine or spurious, it is undeniably certain that its contents were true; since many learned men have fully proved, that MAHOMET, at his first setting out, prohibited, in the strongest manner, the commission of all sorts of injuries against the Christians, and especially the Nestorians.

[l] ASSEMANNI, l. c. p. 97. EUSEBE RENAUD. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 163. 169.

[m] The Melchites were those Christians in *Syria*, *Egypt*, and the *Lewant*, who, though not Greeks, followed the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church. They were called Melchites, i. e. Royalists, by their adversaries, by way of reproach, on account of their implicit submission to the edict of the emperor MARCIAN, in favour of the council of *Chalcedon*.

[n] EUSEB. RENAUD. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 168.

IV. Though the Greek church was already torn asunder by the most lamentable divisions, yet its calamities were far from being at an end. A new sect arose, A. D. 630, under the reign of the emperor HERACLIUS, which, in a short space of time, excited such violent commotions as engaged the eastern and western churches to unite their forces in order to its extinction. The source of this tumult was an unseasonable plan of peace and union. HERACLIUS, considering, with pain, the detriment which the Grecian empire had suffered by the migration of the persecuted Nestorians, and their settlement in *Persia*, was ardently desirous of re-uniting the Monophysites to the bosom of the Greek church, lest the empire should receive a new wound by their departure from it. Pursuant to this idea, he held a conference during the Persian war, A. D. 622, with a certain person named PAUL, a man of great credit and authority among the Armenian Monophysites; and another, at *Hierapolis*, in the year 629, with ATHANASIUS, the Catholic or bishop of that sect, upon the methods that seemed most proper to restore tranquillity and concord to a divided church. Both these persons assured the emperor, that they who maintained the doctrine of *one nature*, might be induced to receive the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon*, and thereby to terminate their controversy with the Greeks, provided that the latter would give their assent to the truth of the following proposition, *viz. that in JESUS CHRIST there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will, and one operation.* HERACLIUS communicated this matter to SERGIUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was a Syrian by birth, and whose parents adhered to the doctrine of the Monophysites. This prelate gave it as his opinion, that the doctrine of *one will* and *one operation*, after the union of the

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

Monothelites.

two

C E N T.
VII.
PART II.

two natures, might be safely adopted without the least injury to truth, or the smallest detriment to the authority of the council of *Chalcedon*. In consequence of this, the emperor published an edict, A. D. 630, in favour of that doctrine, and hoped, by this act of authority, to restore peace and concord both in church and state [o].

The progress of their doctrine.

V. The first reception of this new project was promising, and things seemed to go on smoothly. For though some ecclesiastics refused submitting to the imperial edict, yet CYRUS and ATHANASIUS, the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, received it without hesitation; and the see of *Jerusalem* was at that time vacant [p]. As to the Roman pontif, he was entirely overlooked in the matter, as his consent was not considered as at all necessary in an affair that related only to the eastern church. In the mean time, CYRUS, who had been promoted by HIRACLIUS from the see of *Phasis* to that of *Alexandria*, assembled a council, by the seventh decree of which, the doctrine of Monothelitism, or *one will*, which the emperor had introduced by the edict already mentioned, was solemnly confirmed. This new modification of the doctrine of the council of *Chalcedon*, which seemed to bring it nearer to the Eutychian system, had the desired effect upon the Monothelites, and induced great numbers of them, who were dispersed in *Egypt*, *Armenia*, and other remote provinces, to return into the bosom of the church. They, however, explained the perplexed and ambiguous doctrine of *one will* in

[o] The authors, who have written concerning this sect, are mentioned by JO. AIB. FABRICIUS, in his *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. x. p. 204. The account which I have here given of them is drawn from the fountain head, and is supported by the best authorities.

[p] See LEQUIEN, *Origens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 264.

CHRIST, in a manner peculiar to themselves, and not quite conformable to the true principles of their test.

C E N T.
VII.
PART II.

VI. This smiling prospect of peace and concord was, however, but transitory, and was unhappily succeeded by the most dreadful tumults excited by a monk of *Palestine*, whose name was *SOPHRONIUS*. This monk, being present at the council assembled at *Alexandria* by *CYRUS*, in the year 633, had violently opposed the decree, which confirmed the doctrine of *one will* in CHRIST. His opposition, which was then treated with contempt, became more formidable the following year; when, raised to the patriarchal see of *Jerusalem*, he summoned a council, in which the Monothelites were condemned as heretics, who revived and propagated the Eutychian errors concerning the mixture and confusion of the two natures in CHRIST. Multitudes, alarmed at the cry of heresy raised by this seditious monk, adopted his sentiments; but it was *HONORIUS*, the Roman pontif, that he laboured principally to gain over to his side. His efforts, however, were vain: for *SERGIUS*, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, having informed *HONORIUS*, by a long and artful letter, of the true state of the question, determined that pontif in favour of the doctrine, which maintained *one will* and *one operation* in CHRIST [q]. Hence arose those obstinate contests,

The opposition met with.

[q] The Roman Catholic writers have employed all their art and industry to represent the conduct of *HONORIUS* in such a manner, as to save his pretended infallibility from the charge of error in a question of such importance. (See, among others, *HARDUIN*, *De sacramento altaris*, which is published in his *Opera Selecta*, p. 255.) And, indeed, it is easy to find both matter of accusation and defence in the case of this pontif. On the one hand, it would appear that he himself knew not his own sentiments, nor attached any precise and definite meaning to the expressions he used in the course of this controversy.

On

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

The controversies occasioned by the *Ecſheſis* and the *Type*.

tests, which rent the church into two sects, and the state into two factions.

VII. In order to put an end to these commotions, HERACLIUS issued out, in the year 639, the famous edict composed by SERGIUS, and called the *Ecſheſis*, or exposition of the faith, in which all controversies upon the question, *whether in CHRIST there was one, or two operations*, were strictly prohibited, though in the same edict the doctrine of *one will* was plainly inculcated. A considerable number of the eastern bishops declared their assent to this new law, which was also submissively received by their chief PYRRHUS, who, upon the death of SERGIUS in the year 639, was raised to the see of *Constantinople*. In the west, the case was quite different. JOHN, the fourth Roman pontif of that name, assembled a council at *Rome* A. D. 639, in which the *Ecſheſis* was rejected, and the Monothelites condemned. Nor was this all: for in the progress of this contest, a new edict, known by the name of *Type* or *Formulary*, was published, in the year 648, by the emperor CONSTANS, by the advice of PAUL of *Constantinople* [r], by which the *Ecſheſis* was suppressed, and the contending parties commanded to terminate their disputes concerning the

On the other hand, it is certain, that he gave it as his opinion, that in CHRIST there was but *one will* and *one operation*. It was for this that he was condemned in the council of *Constantinople*, and he must of consequence be undoubtedly a heretic, if it is true, that general councils cannot err. See BOSSUET, in his *Defence of the Declaration made by the Gallican Clergy in the year 1682, concerning Ecclesiastical power*, pars II. lib. xii. cap. xxi. p. 182. See also BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 391.

[r] It is proper to observe here, that PAUL, who was a Monothelite in his heart, and had maintained the *Ecſheſis* with great zeal, fell upon this prudent measure with a view to appease the Roman pontif and the African bishops, who were incensed against him to the highest degree on account of his attachment to the doctrine of *one will*.

one will, and the *one operation* in CHRIST, by observing a profound silence upon that difficult and ambiguous subject. This silence, which was so wisely commanded in a matter which it was impossible to determine to the satisfaction of the contending parties, appeared highly criminal to the angry and contentious monks. They, therefore, excited MARTIN, bishop of *Rome*, to oppose his authority to an edict, which hindered them from propagating strife and contention in the church; and their importunities had the desired effect; for this prelate, in a council of an hundred and five bishops, assembled at *Rome*, A. D. 649, condemned both the *Ethelists* and the *Type*, though without any mention of the names of the emperors who had published those edicts, and thundered out the most dreadful anathemas against the Monothelites and their patrons, who were solemnly consigned to the devil and his angels.

VIII. The emperor CONSTANS, justly irritated at these haughty and impudent proceedings of MARTIN, who treated the imperial laws with such contempt, ordered him to be seized and carried into the isle of *Naxos*, where he was kept prisoner a whole year. This order, which was followed with much cruel treatment, was executed by CALLIOPAS, exarch of *Italy*, in the year 650; and at the same time, MAXIMUS, the ringleader of the seditious monks, was banished to *Bizya*; and other rioters of the same tribe were differently punished in proportion to the part they acted in this rebellion. These resolute proceedings rendered EUGENIUS and VITALIANUS, the succeeding bishops of *Rome*, more moderate and prudent than their predecessor had been; especially the latter, who received CONSTANS, upon his arrival at *Rome* in the year 663, with the highest marks of distinction and respect, and used the wisest precautions to prevent the flame of that unhappy controversy

The sixth
general
council.

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

from breaking out a second time. And thus, for several years, it appeared to be extinguished; but it was so only in appearance; it was a lurking flame, which spread itself secretly, and gave reason to those who examined things with attention, to dread new combustions both in church and state. To prevent these, CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, the son of CONSTANS, pursuant to the advice of AGATHO, the Roman pontif, summoned, in the year 680, the sixth *general or œcumenical council*, in which he permitted the Monothelites and pope HONORIUS himself to be solemnly condemned in presence of the Roman legates, who represented AGATHO in that assembly, and confirmed the sentence pronounced by the council, by the sanction of penal laws enacted against such as pretended to oppose it.

A short
view of the
doctrine of
the Mono-
thelites.

IX. It is difficult to give a clear and accurate account of the sentiments of those who were called Monothelites; nor is it easy to point out the objections of their adversaries. Neither of the contending parties express themselves consistently with what seem to have been their respective opinions; and they both disavow the errors with which they reciprocally charge each other. The following observations contain the clearest notion we can form of the state of this subtle controversy.

1. The Monothelites declared that they had no connection with the Eutychians and Monophysites; but maintained, in opposition to these two sects, that in CHRIST there were two distinct natures, which were so united, though without the least mixture or confusion, as to form by their union only one person.
2. They acknowledged that the soul of CHRIST was endowed with a will or faculty of volition, which it still retained after its union with the divine nature. For they taught that CHRIST was not only perfect God, but also perfect man: from whence it followed, that his
soul

soul was endowed with the faculty of volition. 3. They denied that this faculty of volition in the soul of CHRIST, was absolutely unactive, maintaining, on the contrary, that it co-operated with the divine will. 4. They, therefore, in effect, attributed to our Lord two wills, and these more-over operating and active. 5. They however affirmed, that, in a certain sense, there was in CHRIST but one will and one manner of operation.

C E N T.
VII.
PART II.

X. We must not indeed imagine, that all, who were distinguished by the title of Monothelites, were unanimous in their sentiments with respect to the points now mentioned. Some, as appears from undoubted testimonies, meant no more than this, that the two wills in CHRIST were *one*, i. e. in perfect harmony; that the human will was in perpetual conformity with the divine, and was, consequently, always holy, just, and good; in which opinion there is nothing reprehensible. Others, approaching nearer to the sentiments of the Monophysites, imagined that the two wills or faculties of volition in CHRIST were blended into one, in that which they called the *personal union*: acknowledging, at the same time, that the distinction between these two wills was perceivable by reason, and that it was also necessary to distinguish carefully in this matter. The greatest part of this sect, and those who were also the most remarkable for their subtilty and penetration, were of opinion, that the human will of CHRIST was the instrument of the divine; or, in other words, never operated or acted of itself, but was always ruled, influenced, and impelled by the divine will, in such a manner, however, that when it was once set in motion, it decreed and operated with the ruling principle. The doctrine of one will and one operation in CHRIST, which the

Different
opinions
among that
sect.

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

Monothelites maintained with such invincible obstinacy, was a natural consequence of this hypothesis; since the operation of an instrument and of the being who employs it, is one simple operation, and not two distinct operations or energies. According to this view of things, the Eutychian doctrine was quite out of the question; and the only point of controversy to be determined, was, whether the human will in CHRIST was a self-moving faculty determined by its own internal impulse; or whether, on the contrary, it derived all its motion and operations from the divine?

In the mean time, we may learn from this controversy, that nothing is more precarious and nothing more dangerous and deceitful, than that religious peace and concord which are founded upon ambiguous doctrines, and cemented by obscure and equivocal propositions, or articles of faith. The partisans of the council of *Chalcedon* endeavoured to ensnare the Monophysites, by proposing their doctrine in a manner that admitted of a double explication; and by this imprudent piece of cunning, that shewed so little reverence for the truth, they involved both church and state in tedious and lamentable divisions.

Their fate
after the
council of
Constanti-
nople.

XI. The doctrine of the Monothelites, condemned and exploded by the council of *Constantinople*, found a place of refuge among the Mar-daites, a people who inhabited the mounts *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, and who, about the conclusion of this century, were called Maronites, after Maro their first bishop, a name which they still retain. None of the ancient writers give any certain account of the first person who instructed these Mountaineers in the doctrine of the Monothelites; it is probable, however, from several circumstances, that it was JOHN MARO, whose
name

name they had adopted-[s]. One thing, indeed, we know, with the utmost certainty, from the testimony of TYRIUS and other unexceptionable witnesses, as also from the most authentic records, and that is, that the Maronites retained the opinions of the Monothelites until the twelfth-century, when abandoning and renouncing the doctrine of *one will* in CHRIST, they were re-admitted, in the year 1182, to the communion of the Roman church. The most learned of the modern Maronites have left no method unemployed to defend their church against this accusation; they have laboured to prove, by a variety of testimonies, that their ancestors always persevered in the Catholic faith, in their attachment to the Roman pontif, without ever adopting the doctrine either of the Monophysites or Monothelites. But all their efforts are insufficient to prove the truth of these assertions to such as have any acquaintance with the history of the church and the records of ancient times; for to all such the testimonies they allege will appear absolutely fictitious and destitute of authority [t].

XII.

[s] This ecclesiastic received the name of MARO, from his having lived in the character of a monk in the famous convent of *St. Maro*, upon the borders of the *Orentes*, before his settlement among the Mardaites of mount *Libanus*. For an ample account of this prelate, see JOS. SIMON ASSEMANNI *Bibliothec. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496.

[t] The cause of the Maronites has been pleaded by the writers of that nation, such as ABRAHAM ECHELLENSIS, GABRIEL SIONITA, and others; but the most ample defence of their uninterrupted orthodoxy was made by FAUSTUS NAIRON, partly in his *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum*, published at Rome, A. D. 1679, and partly in his *Euophia fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum et Chaldæorum Monumentis*, published in the same city A. D. 1624. None of the learned, however, were persuaded by his arguments except PAGI* and LA ROCQUE, of whom the latter has given us, in his *Voyage de Syrie et de Montliban*, tom. ii. p. 28—128, a long

* See *Critica Baroniana ad A.* 694.